


'GLORIOUS LIBERTY'



The Story of a
Hundred Years Work
of the
Jamaica Baptist Mission





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BEAUTIFUL JAMAICA : A NORTH COAST SCENE.

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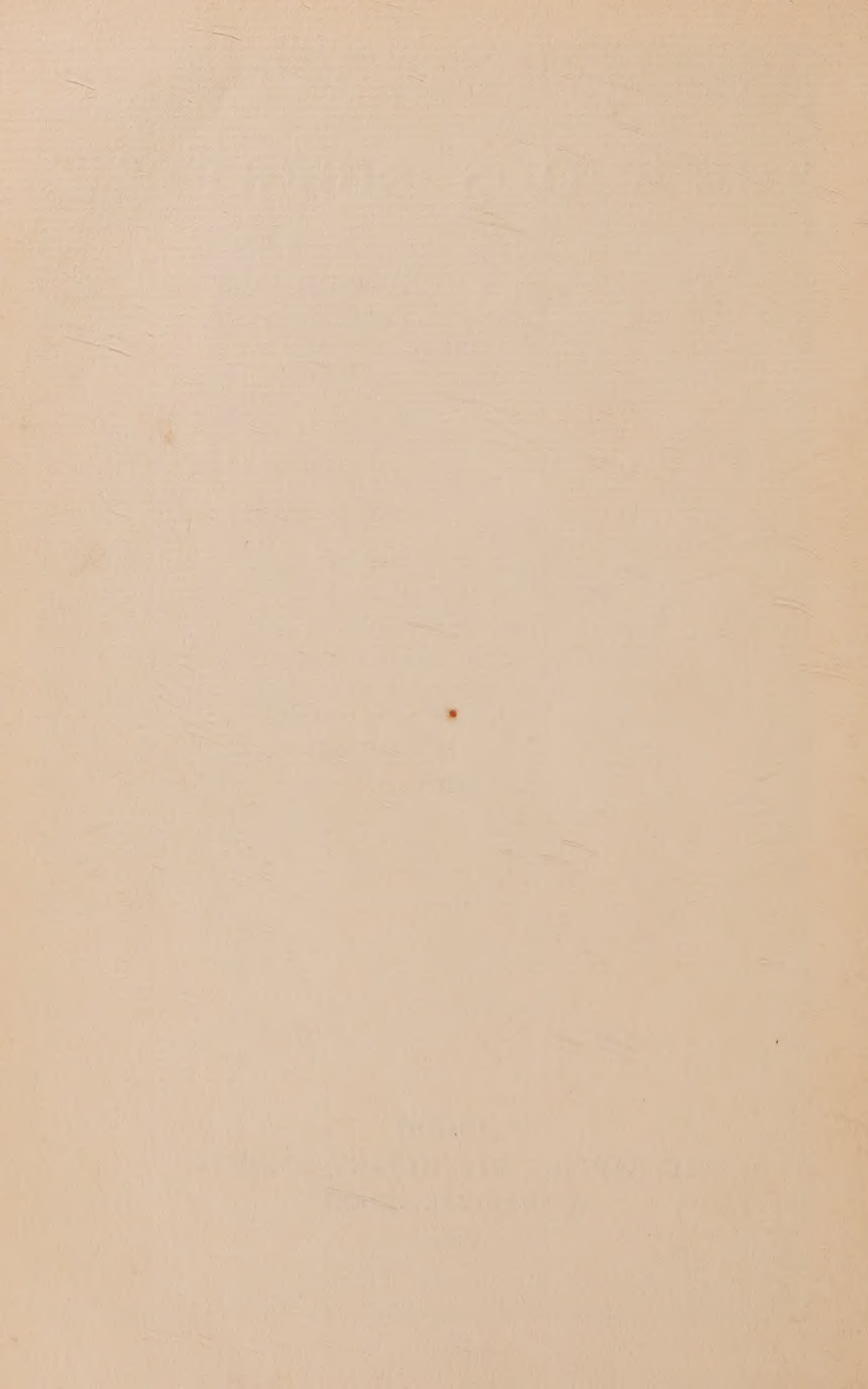
THE STORY OF A HUNDRED YEARS'
WORK OF THE JAMAICA BAPTIST
MISSION

COMPILED FROM UNPUBLISHED MSS.
BY JAMAICA BAPTIST MINISTERS AND
OTHER SOURCES ON BEHALF OF THE
EXECUTIVE OF THE JAMAICA BAPTIST
UNION BY LEONARD TUCKER, M.A.,
FORMERLY TUTOR AT THE CALABAR
(BAPTIST) COLLEGE, KINGSTON, JAMAICA

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19, FURNIVAL STREET

1914



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MAP OF JAMAICA.

"GLORIOUS LIBERTY"

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

THE West Indies is the name given to the semicircle of tropical islands in the western inlet of the Atlantic Ocean, between the continents of North and South America.

The origin of the name is uncertain. The traveller Joseph Acosta, in his "Natural and Moral History of the East and West Indies," 1604, says that in view of the wonderful objects and still more wonderful travellers' tales brought back to Europe by the first explorers of India, then known as the East Indies, the word "Indies" became used as a general name for any strange new country. Thus these western islands were called West Indies. But the term is more probably due to a mistake of Christopher Columbus, who, on first sighting San Salvador and Jamaica, thought that they were the borders of Further India, not knowing of the 6,000 miles of Pacific Ocean lying between. But whatever its origin, the title is a misnomer. The sun rises over Calcutta ten hours before it shines on Blue Mountain Peak, and not less widely separated are the two Indies in the nationality of their peoples and the history of their contact with the white men of Northern Europe.

All the West Indies lie within the tropical zone. Most of them have the same general formation: a central ridge or cluster of volcanic mountains, strips of plain along

shore of later date—the work of tiny coral insects, stretches of coral reef a mile or so from the mainland, and sea-water intensely blue, kept clean and clear by the westward sweep of the great Gulf Stream.

All the usual products of the tropics—bamboo, banana, sugar-cane, coffee, orange, palm, and yam—grow there profusely. There are few wild beasts.

Of many of the islands the political story may be thus summed up: Inhabited first, as far as we know, by Red Indian or kindred aborigines; seized by a European power; repopled by white settlers and negro slaves and a coloured population of mixed race, to whom have since been added Hebrew merchants, Hindoo labourers, Chinese shopkeepers, and Syrian pedlars.

II

Jamaica is in the centre of this island system, and physically and socially may be called typical of the whole. Says Mr. J. M. Phillippo, an honoured Baptist pioneer: “ In the midst of the Caribbean Sea, only a few days’ sail from the vast continent of South America and the Confederate States of the Mexican Union (1843) on the one hand, and Cuba, Puerto Rico, San Domingo, on the other, Jamaica is in the very centre of a population estimated at twenty millions of human beings.”

The Spaniards took Jamaica in 1494. The English took it from them in 1655. Adventurers and pirates of many nationalities made Port Royal on the Palisadoes, off Kingston, their rendezvous and storehouse until, in 1692, a great earthquake carried the Spanish gold to the bottom of the sea, together with the drinking-saloons and other haunts of evil in which it was chiefly spent.

While cotton-growing was the first industry of the slave-worked plantations in America, sugar-cane cultivation early became the chief trade in Jamaica, together with the manu-

facture of rum, and the principal characters on the sugar estate, owner, attorney, overseer, book-keeper, headman, field-hand, figure conspicuously in the drama of early Jamaica history.

The history of the slave traffic can be studied with advantage in the story of Jamaica, because it was here that the British slavery reached its greatest strength, made its fiercest struggle, met its final doom.

English ships brought the kidnapped Africans chiefly from the West Coast and Congo mouth to the island markets, and an old diagram in the library of the Baptist Mission House, London, shows the four-foot space between decks where the "black ivory" was stowed for the voyage.

The slaves on landing were sold in open market to the slave-owners or their agents. Old books give the impression that usually a whole family, or at least the mother with the children, were purchased together, but this was not compulsory.

On the estate negroes speaking the same dialect were kept apart to prevent any planned revolt. For speaking to their white masters, the slaves seem to have been left to pick up the necessary English phrases as well as they could. Hence that broad Creole patois, now only heard among the lingering "old-time somebodies." Hence also such surviving African terms as "tata" (grandfather), "massoo" (lift up), and "nyam" (eat).

There was a belief among the earlier slaves that after death their spirits, or ghosts, would migrate back to Africa, and many an exiled negro closed his eyes in the glad hope of this return to the Fatherland. How many of their free-born and enlightened descendants, Christian men and women, have our missionaries seen closing their eyes in death in the sure and certain hope of a far better home!

Of the wrongs involved in slavery let these three be mentioned, taken from different spheres of life. First, the absence of legal standing as a citizen. For any offence, real

or fancied, a slave might be stretched on the ground and flogged with a cowhide lash. In the case of women this involved cruel and degrading exposure, and against such usage the slave had no right of appeal. Said an old ex-slave to the writer: “If your mudder being flogged and Busha see you looking round, your turn come next.” And a missionary’s letter of that period mentions a headman, who knew “where to hit so as to give the sharpest pain without disabling from work.”

Secondly, the disregard of woman’s chastity and of the natural ties of family life.

Of the former cruel sin no illustration shall be given. As the Apostle says: “It is a shame to speak of” these things. Of the latter let this suffice. An advertisement of the sale of slaves, preserved in England, says each lot is offered separately, but the auctioneer is prepared to “break a lot” (that is, sell mother and children separately) if he gets a sufficient offer.

Thirdly, the non-provision—to put it very mildly—of any kind of moral or religious training for the slave population. This last fact will be fully exemplified in the story of the early days of our Jamaica Baptist Mission.

I shall say no more here of these evil things. No civilized man of to-day would attempt to justify them or dare to recommend their return, but it is well that our young Baptist people should remember that such things were. Ah! could the green cane-fields stretching inland from Montego Bay say what they used to see, or the old market-place at Black River or at Falmouth tell the story of a day’s sale, or cave or dungeon at Brownstown reveal its secrets!

And if these things are not now, and have not been for eighty years, let our youth remember that it was not the march of civilization nor more enlightened legislation, but the power of religion, the Hand of Jesus working through His missionary servants, that broke the fetters and let the oppressed go free. It is the same Hand, not education or

property or political rights, that can give freedom from those worse forms of bondage—slavery to laziness, or to lying, or to lust—that still enthrall so many of our people and prevent their upward progress.

It will be well, too, if “this generation,” as they read this mere summary of the old bad days, shall learn the lesson that this or the like of it is what human life sinks to in any land, in any age, in which men reject revealed religion and make gain their god. The Rubber Concessions of Belgian Congo and the hemp-fields of modern Mexico, tell the same sad tale as Jamaica in the days of slavery. It is righteousness, and that alone, that really exalts any people.

III

It was Oliver Cromwell who made Jamaica an English Colony, and some of the first white settlers in the island were Puritans or Quakers, God-fearing men, who tried, according to their lights, to deal justly with their slaves and even to care for their souls. Mr. George Fox, in his counsels to his followers on the West Indian plantations, bids them endeavour to train up their negroes in the fear of God; “both them that were bought and them that were born in their families, and to cause the overseers to deal mildly and gently with them.” These good men saw nothing wrong in slavery, or perhaps had never heard its rightness challenged. Seeking earnestly to do spiritual good to those whom ignorantly they were wronging, they must be reckoned among Jamaica’s early Christian workers, although in reading their story one is reminded of the protest of an American slave, whose pious owner was haranguing him during a flogging: “Massa, if oonoo* preachee, preachee; an’ if oonoo beattee, beatee, but no preachee and beattee too.”

The first organized effort to evangelize the Jamaica negro

* You.

was made by Moravian missionaries, who came at the invitation of certain owners in 1754. With them also slavery was the chief obstacle to success. Here is a first-hand description of what they found :

“Every morning, with the first dawn of day, the shell was blown to call the slaves to their work, and everyone was expected to appear immediately and join his party. Each gang walked off to the field under the direction of the driver, armed with a long whip. The children, from six to twelve years of age, were under the care of an elderly negress, armed with a rod. This infant gang proceeded to the pastures to clean them, or to do any work suited to their strength. The gangs toiled all day in the sun ; their covering at that time being only a cloth tied round their loins. There was no remission of work except in the middle of the day to take their meals. Late in the evening, after the setting of the sun, they returned to their homes ; but, not unfrequently, to resume labour by the light of the moon. The work was examined by the overseer. If he was dissatisfied with it, the labourer, whether man or woman, was laid on the ground and flogged. Before the whip descended the third time, the person was covered with blood. Not an evening passed without hearing the crack of the whip and the shrieks of the victims. The missionary’s first message in such scenes was supplications, written to the overseer for mercy to those who, on their knees, with uplifted hands begged for pity and intercession.” “Day after day,” says the Moravian narrative, “they witnessed the same toil and the same scenes until Sunday, when the slaves went to the market to bring home a supply for the week, or to their provision grounds to labour for their own support. When, or at what time,” asks the Moravian record, “could a missionary labour among these people ?”

Before long, moreover, slavery itself attacked the missionaries. As no free labourers could be got to work the provision grounds and pastures of the mission settlement,

the Moravian Brethren found themselves obliged to buy slaves and become owners, and this involved flogging the disobedient and chasing runaways, as was done on the estates. The story of this sore burden and perplexity is frankly told in the admirable volume, published in 1904, which commemorates the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Moravian Mission in Jamaica.

The Wesleyan Mission began work here in 1789 with the advent of Dr. Coke, whose voluminous work, "History of the West Indies," is characteristic of his energy as a pioneer missionary in many other fields besides Jamaica. He says of the spiritual condition of the island: "The form of godliness was hardly visible, and its power, except in a few solitary instances, totally unknown." Dr. Coke was soon followed by other Wesleyans, whose early story is pathetically like ours in its record of all too frequent death and bereavement. A little later brethren of this Mission stood side by side with our Knibb and Burchell during the perilous days of the slave revolt, 1832. To-day among the Free Churches the Wesleyan comes next to the Baptist in number of members, scholars, etc.

As early as 1696 the English Government directed the Island Government to legislate that all slave owners should instruct their negroes and have them baptized "when fit for it," and this implies the presence of Government rectors and chaplains. But in 1796, just a century later, a member of Parliament who had lived in Jamaica declared before the House: "The people are cannibals, and instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly eat him." Notwithstanding this supposed peril, it was decreed, in 1797, that in consideration of additional stipend, the clergy of Jamaica be made compellable to instruct all such free persons of colour and such slaves as may be willing to be baptized. In 1816, however, when the clergy were asked to report to the Colonial Secretary concerning their work among the slaves, one wrote: "To bring them to a knowledge of the

Christian religion is undoubtedly a good design, yet I believe the difficulties are insurmountable." The difficulties that this clergyman referred to include the appointed Sunday market trade, of the character of which another report says: "Every bad passion of the human heart might be there seen in operation."

How much the work of the Episcopal Church in Jamaica has expanded since emancipation, and since that later emancipation whereby as a Church of Christ it ceased to be under State patronage and control, it is not for these pages to record in detail.

Both branches of the Presbyterian Church, the Established and the Secessional, began work in Jamaica in the later slave days.

IV

Before coming to those whom we can recognize as the first Baptist workers in Jamaica, there is a class of religious teachers among the slaves of whom mention should be made, and the more so because of their practising baptism.

The kidnapped Africans that were landed on our island brought with them their ancestral beliefs—idolatry, Moham-medanism, ghost-worship—which were their poor substitutes for the true religion. But at the time of the American War with England several Royalist planters came to Jamaica from the Southern States, bringing negroes who had some smattering of Christian worship. These black men set themselves up as leaders among the Jamaican slaves, and established what we now call Fanaticism in its worst and wildest forms. They met at night, sang doggerel songs in place of hymns, and worked themselves up into religious hysteria and convulsions, which were regarded as a sign of being filled with the Holy Spirit. Such old-time practices as sending a candidate into the Bush to "have a dream" before he could be regarded as

a fit subject for baptism, may have come over with these misguided teachers; and much of the so-called worship of the wilder Revivalists of to-day is likely to have had the same origin. It cannot be too clearly stated that our Baptist Mission in Jamaica gives no recognition to such practices. Animal excitement is no evidence of conversion, and cannot possibly be the work of that Holy Spirit whose blessed indwelling manifests itself in righteousness, peace, and calm and hallowed joy.

It seems a forecast of the direction of Baptist Mission effort in Jamaica that the first Baptist workers there were men of African descent. George Lisle (or Liele), a black man, was brought here from America, in 1783, by his white owner, who eventually set him free. Lisle had already been called to the work of a preacher by a Church in Virginia, of which, like his master, he was a member.

Shocked at the general godlessness of the people of Kingston, he preached on the race-course, then hired a room, then organized a Church. And, in 1793, he became pastor at the first Baptist Chapel built in Jamaica, which was called from its position the Windward Road Chapel.

Better known in Baptist story is Moses Baker, a coloured man, and by trade a barber. He, too, came south from the American settlements, driven out with many others on the evacuation of New York. He described himself at this time as "much given to drink and many other bad habits."

A good old black man led him out of darkness into light, and thus prepared him for the truly great work the heavenly Master had for him to do.

Mr. J. L. Winn, owner of Adelphi estate, a godly man of the Quaker sect, came to Kingston in 1786, to find a Christian teacher for his slaves. Led of God, he found Moses Baker.

Years later, describing the Church he had formed on Mr. Winn's estate (afterwards Mr. Vaughan's), Baker said: "We are of the Baptist persuasion because we believe it

agreeable to the Scriptures. We hold to be baptized in a river or place where there is much water." And of Church discipline he says: "If a brother become a swearer, a fornicator, or covetous, we hold that he should be put away from us." The farewell address of Pastor Baker, when he finally gave up the ministry, contained the prayerful wish "that the poor might be rich in faith, and the rich abound in good works."

Other early Baptists were Messrs. Gibbs, Robinson, and Swiegel, the last-named of whom formed a second Baptist Church in Kingston. "Parson" Kellick was another good and able native minister; he was alive in 1864, when his sphere was visited by a Baptist deputation.

And now before tracing the commencement of the Baptist Missionary Society's work in Jamaica, let us stand for a moment, as it were, with bowed heads, by the graves of Lisle and Baker and their brethren, and thank God for the blessed truths so plainly testified to by their lives.

That of a truth God is no respecter of persons: He fills with His Spirit the slave and the free man, the son of Ham with the child of Japheth; that men are not born Christians, or made so by national descent, Act of Parliament, or Church ceremony, but by being born again of the Spirit into newness of life; and that men of any nation or class, who sincerely desire to do the will of God, can ascertain it by the direct study of His word: no priest or Prayer-Book or catechism is necessary to set forth its meaning. Is it not because of the recognition of these primal truths that Baptist Missions have in every land appealed to the down-trodden and the outcast? "The common people heard Him gladly," was the record of our Master's earthly ministry, and just in proportion as we tread in His footsteps, wholly free from colour- and caste-prejudices, will that record be repeated in our efforts to proclaim His Gospel.



A FAMILY GROUP.



OLD JAMAICA.



YOUNG JAMAICA.

CHAPTER II

BAPTIST WORK IN JAMAICA UNDER THE ENGLISH BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

I

"I HAVE waited several years for some one to send," wrote Dr. Ryland, the Head of Bristol College, in 1813. His interest in Jamaica as a mission field had been roused by the pleading letters of Moses Baker; and that year the good Doctor had the joy of seeing Mr. John Rowe, one of his own students, sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society as their first accredited worker in the West Indies.

Mr. and Mrs. Rowe landed from the sailing ship at Montego Bay, February 23, 1814, thus making that year and day the actual date of the commencement of Baptist mission work in Jamaica.

Mr. Rowe went first to Adelphi to visit Moses Baker, who was then, like his great namesake in Scripture story, a veteran in God's service. Thence he went downhill to Falmouth, where he was to be stationed.

At that period the right to preach was obtained by Government licence, and the changes of law connected with that right form a grim comment on State interference with religious work and worship. A very early Act decreed that slaves should receive instruction from none but clergy of the Established Church, and then only if the slave-owners wished it. Another law practically annulled that right for a period of seven years (1806-14). Another law imposed a heavy fine on Dissenting ministers for every slave found in their congregations.

Mr. Rowe could at first preach only in his own house. A magistrate's licence was obtained, but soon after suspended till August, 1816, and alas! before that date the preacher's lips were silenced by death. Mr. Rowe was the first of a pathetic procession of European workers, who were so soon cut off by fever and other tropical diseases, that their average length of service was only three years. Part of this loss was due, no doubt, to a permanent factor, the hot climate; part to overwork, exhausting saddle journeys, and mistaken ideas on clothing, diet, and personal hygiene. Most of the ministers of to-day, for example, refrain entirely from alcohol, and to-day the average life of the white minister is by no means a short one.

Next came Mr. Compere, who, on obtaining his licence, formed a Baptist Church in Kingston in 1816. Next year, however, through the failure of his health, he and Mrs. Compere had to leave Jamaica.

The same year (1817) came Mr. and Mrs. Coultart, who took charge of the work in Kingston, and opened a day-school. A year later Mrs. Coultart died, and her husband in shattered health went to England, determined, however, to come back, God willing, with gifts from friends at home for his Jamaica work.

Mr. Coultart's place was taken by Mr. Kitching, whose span of service is thus summed up: Arrived September, 1818; died December, 1819. Such is the bare outward record, but the inner record, the good done in that short life, is independent of time-limits.

In 1819 came Mr. and Mrs. Godden, who opened work in Spanish Town. Mrs. Godden died that October, and four years later he had to retire in broken health.

Thus amid pain and bereavement, hopes destroyed, and lives cut short, the Jamaica Baptist Mission, like every enterprise which the Divine Master owns as His, began its work. Did not He suffer and die that His work might be done? And we, who look back upon these early labourers from the

end of the century of our mission work, and are reaping now the fruit of their service, may reverently recognize therein the truth of that saying: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

In January, 1822, East Queen Street Chapel, Kingston, was opened; the same year Mr. Tinson came out with his wife, and, failing to obtain a licence to preach in Manchioneal, settled in Kingston, forming a Baptist Church in Hanover Street, which dates from 1826. In 1823 Mr. Thomas Knibb came out to be Master of Coultart School, in Kingston. Next year he died, and his wife passed away in England the following year.

1823 saw also the arrival of notable reinforcements from England: Messrs. Burchell, Phillippo, and Phillips. The last named opened work at Annotto Bay, on the north coast, and gathered many converts; but a year later Mr. and Mrs. Phillips both died in the space of two days.

Mr. Phillippo took charge of the work at Spanish Town. The Custos hindered him by refusing a preaching licence until he could produce a certificate (something like our modern passport) bearing the seal of the Lord Mayor of London. This came at last, and Mr. Phillippo commenced the ministry which has left his name fragrant in the spiritual history of Spanish Town and throughout the island. There have been few more gifted, acceptable, and successful preachers in our Jamaica pastorate than James Mursell Phillippo; and the Editor warmly recommends Mr. Phillippo's "Jamaica Past and Present" (1842), and Dr. Underhill's "Life of J. M. Phillippo" (1881), to all who desire a clear idea of the work of the early Baptist missionaries sent out by the Home Society.

Mr. Burchell's name and history are so bound up with the story of emancipation that I will simply mention here his taking charge of the work at Crooked Spring on the estate of Mr. Vaughan, the employer and friend of Moses Baker, and

his commencing his larger task when, on February 29, 1824, he formed a Church of twelve members at Montego Bay. In 1826 Mr. Burchell visited England to recruit and to collect, leaving his Jamaica pastorates under the charge of a new missionary, Mr. Mann. On his return Mr. Mann took charge of Falmouth in 1827, but died early in 1830, having in the meantime assisted Mr. Burchell in founding or developing Baptist Churches at the following places: Montego Bay, Mount Carey, Shortwood, Bethel Town, Gurney's Mount, Fletcher's Grove, Watford Hill, Lucea, Crooked Spring, Falmouth, Rio Bueno, Stewart Town, and Fuller's Field.

And now before recording what comes next, the arrival of William Knibb, let us inquire what need there was for the Baptist Missionary Society, which began work in Bengal, to extend it to Jamaica, and whether it was justified in incurring all that expenditure of money, and sacrifice of lives far more precious, which our story thus far has recounted. In answer, let us examine the testimony of a few eye-witnesses, dating from about 1800, as to the moral and religious condition of the Island community when our work began, and the existing provision for religious teaching.

The vice of drunkenness pervaded all ranks, their carousals being usually accompanied by gambling and all the evils which follow in its train.

Among the wealthy drunken quarrels happened between intimate friends and usually ended in a duel, a species of crime resorted to on the most trifling occasion. There were very few who did not shorten their lives by intemperance and violence. Concubinage was almost universal, embracing nine-tenths of the male inhabitants. The name of a family man was held in derision. The most shameless adultery was everywhere prevalent. Groups of white and mulatto children, offspring of the same father, were frequently brought up under the same roof. The practice of profane swearing was unblushingly prevalent. There was a general disregard of the Sabbath; the overseers on the estates met together on

that day to dine at each other's houses and to spend the evening in amusement. To the slave the Sabbath was at once the weekly market-day and a social holiday. Thousands flocked to the public market in the town, where dancing, yelling, wrestling, fighting, and gambling went on in every direction. The streets and lanes about the town presented such scenes of riot and wickedness that a decent person dared hardly walk out even at noonday. In the evening every road was crowded with negroes returning from market with salt, provisions, and groceries, and drunkenness and riot pervaded the scene.

Is this condition of the Jamaica community a thing to wonder at? Wherever a great social evil is recognized and practised and made the basis of business and legislation, there general moral degradation is certain to be found. Again, where the strong part of a community treats the rest as if they had no souls, the strong part itself tends inevitably to become spiritually dead. The flower cannot bloom when the worm is in the bud, nor the health and strength be good when the fever germ is working in the blood. The wages of sin is always spiritual death.

As to the provision for religious teaching, a historian writing in 1807 says: "Surely there never was a greater inconsistency than a profession of religion here. In some of the parishes, larger than English shires, there is no church; in others there is no priest. In a town which contains between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants there is but one church; and here when you enter you usually see the curate, the clerk, the sexton, one or two magistrates, about a dozen gentlemen, and twice that number of ladies. In fact, as to the white inhabitants, Christianity is so contrary in its spirit, doctrines, and injunctions, to their conduct, prejudices, and interests, that it is not surprising if it is secretly despised and openly neglected." "In the towns," says the same record, "many of the stores are open on Sunday, and business is transacted as usual. The only difference is that

the clerks and negroes generally have the day to themselves, the former spending it in amusement, the latter in idleness and debauchery.” “Many of the white colonists,” says another author, “have rarely been in a place of worship in their lives.”

Surely, with such conditions prevailing in Jamaica, there was abundant reason for some evangelical society that proclaimed Christ crucified as the Saviour of sinners and the Restorer of man to sonship with his Creator, to enter in and get to work; and Rowe, Coultart, and Phillippo, opening chapels, founding schools, visiting planters’ houses and the barracks of the slaves, were as truly engaged in missionary work as Carey, Marshman, and Ward in the heart of heathen India.

William Knibb arrived in Jamaica on February 12, 1825. He was then twenty-two years of age. Born in Kettering, he had entered business life at Fuller’s Printing Works, Bristol, in 1816. It was at Broadmead Church that he found his Saviour, and was baptized in 1822. Already he had desires for missionary service, and, when informed of his brother Thomas’s death, he said: “Then if the Society will accept me, I will go and take his place,” thus, all unconsciously, setting himself apart for a unique task and an immortal fame. The year after his arrival in Jamaica—1826—a Church was formed at Port Royal, where preaching had for some time been carried on, and of this Church William Knibb became the pastor, until, in 1829, he moved west to take charge of the station at Savanna-la-Mar.

Before tracing his story farther, let us note the arrival of other workers—Mr. Flood, who took charge of Annotto Bay, but resided higher up the hills at Mount Charles, and Mr. Baylis, who came to Spanish Town to assist Mr. Phillippo. The same year—1827—saw the arrival of Mr. Joseph Burton, who was stationed temporarily at Kingston, but, on Mr. Coultart’s return, went north to Port Maria, where he founded a Church and built a chapel. By far the

most notable ministerial change of this period took place in 1830, when, on the death of Mr. Mann at Falmouth, William Knibb was invited to come from Savanna-la-Mar and become the pastor. So well was he already known and beloved that, on his name being proposed, the whole large assembly of nearly 900 members rose to their feet, held up their hands in assent, and “burst into tears of gratitude and joy.”

Other arrivals of this period were Messrs. Nichols, Cantlow, and John Clarke. Mr. Nichols took charge of the Churches at St. Ann’s Bay and Ocho Rios, Mr. Cantlow settled at Salter’s Hill, and Mr. Clarke at Port Royal, adding to his ministerial labours the charge of a school connected with the Mission in Kingston.

II

MISSION WORK AND CHURCH LIFE AMONG THE SLAVES

All records of missionary enterprise in the West Indies before Emancipation agree as to the tremendous disadvantage to Christian work caused by slavery. We have seen that, in general, a slave congregation could not be gathered without first a magistrate’s licence, and, secondly, the express permission of the slave-owner. This licence, issued at the option of magistrates who were mostly owners of estates, practically gave the professional enemies of missionary work legal power to forbid it. The story of the checks, hindrances, insults, and humiliations inflicted on godly men, who sought only the good of all, is very painful reading. Again, the necessity for getting the permission of the owner of several hundred slaves before the gangs could be visited on the estate, or even be permitted in off-hours to attend a Mission service, frequently resulted in preventing thousands of the sons of Africa from hearing the

Gospel at all. "Yes, you may visit my slaves," said a certain owner, "and may teach them the Commandments. But," he added, as the missionary turned away, glad of thus much of an opportunity to proclaim Bible truth, "remember there are only two commandments for slaves. One is, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and the other, 'Love massa.'" One wonders which of these injunctions the poor slaves would find it the most difficult to keep. Probably the last.

Sunday market, again, was a tremendous hindrance to religious service among the enslaved blacks. This institution seems to have arisen from the very necessity of the black population to use the only off-time they got for supplying their personal needs. Part of the time was employed in working their own little provision grounds—where these existed—and part of the time in market business and intercourse. Many were the innocent devices whereby missionaries contrived to deliver their message, and, in spite of all restrictions, to have religious intercourse with their black brethren. Old-time people at Montego Bay told the writer that when, under an unjust and oppressive law, the congregations were forbidden for a time to meet in the first Baptist church, the missionary paced to and fro on the white sand by the sea-side at the time when the slaves were off duty, and skilfully gathering little groups of his members about him, never enough to draw attention, he would give to each group in turn a five minutes' sermonette—some message of invitation and comfort from the good Book which they could think of and talk of together afterwards. A quaint old song, or hymn, which one of the older brethren, now passed away, assured me was actually sung at some of the class-house meetings long after freedom, runs thus :

"Me take de night go ca' dem,
 Me take de night go ca' dem,
 Me take de night go ca' dem,
 An' shake dem by de shou'der."

This verse, he explained, was a reminiscence of those long-past Sunday evenings, when the godly slaves who had heard their missionary's message delivered as he walked, "for fear of the enemy," got together in the silence of the night to compare notes and to encourage each other to stand firm for God.

A venerable officer of the same Church, who died some years ago at the ascertained age of 108, told me that the first time he heard the Bible read was in this wise. A Sunday afternoon service for the white people was being conducted in a small Episcopal building by an island curate. The deacon, then a young slave lad on an estate where no instruction was ever allowed, got three other Coromantee* youths to join him, and together they crept through the tall guinea-grass that occupied one side of the church premises and concealed themselves beneath the open window. In the clear quiet air they heard distinctly the exhortation, "Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us," and some of the prayers and collects of Evening Service. How vividly the scene exemplifies the then condition of Jamaica, and especially the wrong and outrage inflicted on the slave! Christ, in whose Name and honour that service was held, came not for one race only, but for the whole human world; but through the evil influence of slavery the few whites had the Gospel preached to them, while the many blacks were shut out, or listened only by stealth, and in danger of the cow-hide lash if they were caught.

The limits of space prevent other reminiscences, save one which illustrates the height of simple heroism to which the power of the Gospel, despite all these disadvantages, was able to lift the soul of the slave. The instance I give is taken and condensed from the work of one of our earlier missionaries, "Missionary Reminiscences," by Rev. P. H. Cornford. In a time of insurrection some godless slave-owners determined to use the opportunity of martial law to stamp out, by death

* An African tribe.

if necessary, a slaves' prayer-meeting held in a hamlet not far from Black River. For this purpose the meeting was suddenly raided by armed men. It happened that the class leader, Moses Hall, was absent, his place being taken by a younger man named David. David was seized, and without any trouble, condemned and hanged, and the raiders even managed to get permission to take his head and carry it back to the hamlet as a warning to the members of the meeting. In the middle of the hamlet the head of the murdered man was set up upon a pole, and as the men, women, and children of the hamlet gathered awestruck round it, they were fiercely warned to expect the same fate if they were caught assembling for prayer. Into their midst came, as usual, Moses Hall, the class leader. He was seized, dragged forward and made to stand against the pole where all could see him. "Now, Moses Hall," said the leader of the raiding gang, "whose head is that?" "David's, Massa." "Do you know why he is up there?" "Yes, Massa, for praying, sir." "Mark you, then, we'll stop your religious nonsense. No more of your prayer-meetings. If we catch you at it we shall serve you as we have served David."

There was a pause while the class leader considered the situation, all his class members watching him in silent perplexity and suspense. Then, suddenly raising his clasped hands, he kneeled down upon the earth, just beneath the martyr's head, and said solemnly, "LET US PRAY." Immediately the whole circle knelt in prayer, and before the masters could recover their surprise the voice of the poor slave rose clearly over the scene praying that God would "bless all the massa buckra* and make them to know the Lord Jesus Christ, that their souls might be saved at last." The masters listened dumb-struck, and when the prayer was ended they turned away; nor did they ever more attempt to stay the progress of that work of God.

* White men.



REV. WILLIAM KNIBB.

BAPTIST EMANCIPATORS.



REV. THOMAS BURCHELL.

III

The story of the slave revolt of 1831-32 has a conspicuous place in all early missionary annals of work in Jamaica. And rightly so, for the whole future of Christian work in that island has been determined by the result. The most complete and vivid account is that which was drawn up by the Baptist missionaries themselves soon after the close of the revolt, and published under the title "A Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in this Island." Summarized the facts are briefly these. For many years in the homeland, under the influence of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, godly men of standing and influence, in Parliament and outside, had been steadily working for the abolition of slavery from the British Empire. Many of these friends were of the Quaker Church, which was the first section of the Church of Christ to denounce slavery as morally indefensible.

In 1807 the first blow was struck when a law was passed forbidding British subjects to engage in the slave traffic, and thereby preventing the importation of fresh slaves. In 1831 Sir Fowell Buxton brought up a motion for the abolition of the existing slavery in British colonies, which roused the wildest indignation among the slave-owners in Jamaica.

The talk at the Great House table of a sugar-plantation has traditionally been unrestrained; and at that period, what with the contempt of the owner for his human chattels, and the perpetual influence of that wine-cup which lets out secrets, the angry companies of planters paid little heed to the presence of the black servants moving in and out of the room, and silently taking in all that they could understand of the planters' talk. Copies of the island newspapers filled with the same violent language were secretly studied by slaves and house servants who could read; and so the idea

got abroad and spread throughout the slave population that freedom had been given, or was just going to be given, by the King and Parliament at home, but that the free-papers were being kept back by the slave-owners. Under the influence of these ideas, a slave named Samuel Sharp, a member and officer at the Baptist Church at Montego Bay, determined to organize, not a revolt, but a kind of strike, of slaves. After the Christmas holiday they were all to refuse to get to work again unless they were paid for their labour.

This is all that Sam Sharp had planned: he trusted that the absolute cessation of work and the impossibility of the few whites compelling 400,000 black people to work against their will would bring about the production of the suppressed free-papers, and the abolition of slavery. All the missionaries in the west part of the island, where Sam Sharp lived, did their utmost to undeceive the people as to the supposed granting of freedom. Knibb at Salter's Hill, near Montego Bay, spoke so strongly about this mistaken notion and the duty of Christian slaves to be obedient to their masters, that the people, in their disappointment and anger, actually accused him of having taken a bribe to hush this matter up.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, Sam Sharp's strike-party got beyond his control and, misled by the counsels of violent men, determined to set themselves free and avenge some of their wrongs by open revolt. Getting word of this plot, our missionaries spared no pains in entreating their Baptist Church members to keep free from it, and to a large extent they were successful, many of our Baptist class leaders risking their standing with their people, and even their very lives, to prevent the revolt spreading, and some of them even taking an active part with the island Government in its suppression.

All this, however, did not prevent a slavery party—estate owners, magistrates, militia and their dependents—from successfully propagating a delusion more mischievous than that

of the slaves, that the missionaries themselves had caused, and were secretly encouraging, the revolt. The burning of plantation houses, followed by the assembling of armed slaves in the bush, began on Tuesday night, December 27, 1831, and on Saturday, the 31st, the last day of the year, Martial Law was proclaimed and the island population, black and white, was put under military rule. After Sunday service at Falmouth Mr. Knibb, with Messrs. Nichols, Abbott, and Whitehorne, received orders to enrol themselves for military service; and night witnessed the strange sight of two Baptist missionaries, one of them the pastor of the Church in that town, pacing to and fro on "sentry-go" at Falmouth guard-house.

On Tuesday, Knibb and his comrades were arrested on suspicion, taken in open canoe twenty miles to Montego Bay, and there, after being marched about publicly under arrest, were confined in the Court House, which was used as military headquarters.

It must have seemed like a complete triumph to the slavery party to see the hated Knibb sworn at by a white soldier with fixed bayonet for asking permission to lie down, and openly jeered at as an infernal Baptist parson; yet had they known it, the blow they were dealing would fall, not on the missionary enterprise, but on slavery itself. Each shameless indignity inflicted on God's servants could become to the conscience of the English people an argument for doing away altogether with an institution which could degrade white colonists into behaviour so fiendish. In fact, over each episode of this revolt might be written the testimony of the first disciples of the Christ when similarly persecuted—the things done by the enemy "have turned out rather for the furtherance of the Gospel." Before midnight the missionary company were rescued from the Court House, with its fiendish atmosphere, by the good-will of Messrs. Roby and Manderson, and the next day were released on bail.

Mr. and Mrs. Burchell, returning from England, reached

Falmouth January 7. He was arrested on board on the same suspicion that had caused the arrest of Mr. Knibb, and was transferred on board a man-of-war, while all his papers were taken away for examination by the Custos, and on February 10 he was, like them, released from detention ; but so intense was the hostility of the planters' company to him on shore that arrangements were made for his taking passage on an American ship, and for the present quitting the island ; but on the 11th, police officers came on board to re-arrest Burchell, and carry him ashore to answer the charges made against him by Samuel Stennett, a free coloured man, who had been induced to bear false witness against him.

We have pictured William Knibb before the brutal crew of the guard-house ; let us picture Thomas Burchell kneeling on the cabin floor before going on shore to what seemed a certain death, and calmly asking that Psalms xci. and xlvi. should be read aloud to calm the distress of Mrs. Burchell and his missionary comrades. The scene on landing he thus describes : " The most ferocious and savage spirit was manifested by some of what are called the respectable white inhabitants. Some cried out, ' Have his blood ! ' others, ' Shoot him ! ' others, ' Hang him ! ' But as they attempted to approach several coloured persons surrounded me and dared them to touch me. Had it not been for this I am fully persuaded I should have been barbarously murdered by my countrymen, by enlightened respectable Christian Britons." On the same day a magistrate's order was procured forbidding Mr. Burchell to leave the island, and he and Mr. Gardener, the missionary at Savanna-la-Mar, were committed for trial at the ensuing Assize Court. " But prayer was made continually for them by the Church."

On March 12 the Assize Court met at Montego Bay ; but before that date the only witness against Mr. Burchell, Samuel Stennett, confessed that his evidence taken down in writing was a perjury ; that he had been bribed to say what

he knew was untrue. A petition was sent to the Governor by the missionaries in custody claiming their release, but by some unknown means, whatever reply was sent it did not reach them, and they remained in jail till they were tried in open court. The charge against Mr. Burchell was necessarily withdrawn and he was set free, but so savage a mob was gathered by his enemies, pledged to seize him, cover him with tar and feathers, and (it was said) burn him alive, that the missionary was smuggled on board a ship and finally, on the earnest entreaty of the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and other officials, he consented to leave Jamaica for America. This was against the counsels of some of his colleagues, but the reasons he gave—to prevent bloodshed and increased danger for his missionary brethren then awaiting trial—are entirely to his credit. Any fair-minded and intelligent reader of this story will feel how pitiable was the state of the island when an innocent missionary, acquitted in open court, had to leave the land because he could not be protected from the violence of godless and lawless men.

On March 19, Messrs. Knibb and Gardener were brought up for trial, charged with helping to cause the revolt. Mr. Panton, a Christian lawyer, undertook their defence, and at very short notice gathered three hundred witnesses, including many slaves, who came from thirty or even forty miles round to testify for their pastor. A full report of the trial is given in "A Brief Narrative." Two witnesses only were called for the prosecution, and their testimonies, like that of those who long ago witnessed against the Christ, did not agree. Mr. Gardener was forthwith acquitted, and Mr. Knibb not even brought up for trial. Satisfactory as this result was, it was a grievous disappointment to the missionaries themselves, who were thus deprived of the opportunity of facing and refuting the multitude of slanderous charges their enemies had brought against them. Soon after the trial the assembled missionaries left Montego Bay, went round by sea to Kingston and thence to Spanish Town, where united meetings were

held to thank God for past deliverance and to take measures for the future.

We have now to mention one of the most extraordinary Associations ever formed by civilized men in a Christian land, the Colonial Church Union. This was formed at St. Ann's Bay, January 26, 1832, during the time of Martial Law. Its general object was to combat the influence of the British Anti-Slavery Society. Among the resolutions drawn up at an early meeting are the following :

To present a general petition to the Legislature for the expulsion of all sectarian missionaries.

To prevent the dissemination of any religious doctrines at variance with those of the English and Scotch Churches.

To exhibit in their true light the arts which had been used to bring ruin and devastation on Jamaica by publishing an authentic account of the late rebellion.

In furtherance of these measures the following manifesto was posted up: "Inhabitants of Jamaica, your danger is great. If you have discovered the source of your disease, lose not a moment in expelling the poison from your veins. Rally round your Church and Kirk before it is too late, and defend yourselves from all who attack them; the preservation of your wives, your children, your property, your very lives demands it. A Colonial Church Union is all you want to unite the friends of the Colony in the defence, which must then succeed."

Mr. Nichols of St. Ann's Bay records a curious attempt of the section of the Union in that town to carry out its purpose. A paper was read to an assembly of the local militia inviting them to join in a proposal for sending every dissenting preacher out of the island. The white members of the company, mostly dissolute men, gladly agreed; so did most of the coloured and the black, but these, as appeared later, being unable to understand the terms used in the paper, thought it had to do with the re-arrangement concerning their pay.

But the most notable performance of this dastardly Union was the destruction of the Nonconformist places of worship throughout the island.

The first to perish was the fine chapel at Salter's Hill, eight miles from Montego Bay, which was attacked by a party of the St. James's militia. Next came Falmouth, which was destroyed by the St. Ann's Regiment, headed by a magistrate. The large chapel at Montego Bay, capable of seating 2,000 people, followed, with Rio Bueno, Brownstown and Lucea, as well as the chapel at Savanna-la-Mar, on the south coast; and, on February 10, the turn came for St. Ann's Bay Chapel. The account of this attack may be given as a sample of all. At ten at night, just when Mr. and Mrs. Nichols were retiring, there came a violent knocking at the chapel door. After a few blows the door gave way, when a number of people entered, and immediately began to dash to pieces the windows and pews. Every window but one was smashed, and the broken bits of the pews were hurled out into the yard. Mr. and Mrs. Nichols, with their little children, were in a room only separated from the chapel by a thin partition. Mr. Nichols shouted for help, and a resident who was a magistrate fetched out men from the main guard, before whom the rioters dispersed. It is mentioned as a curious circumstance that, though the soldiers who quelled the disturbance had their guns with them, not one of these was loaded, nor had they brought any cartridges. Mr. Nichols took his family to Spanish Town for safety, and two days later the whole Mission premises of the Baptists at St. Ann's Bay, together with the Wesleyan Chapel, were destroyed in open daylight, and the materials stolen by the mob. The next day a general meeting was held of the Colonial Church Union, when resolutions were passed binding the members to support and protect the chapel-breakers.

The writer has before him an authentic list of the men who did this work—magistrates, officials, officers, planters;

men who to-day would be expected to be leaders in all measures for the progress of the island, but who at that time gloried in what they had done, and were greeted by the plaudits of a large proportion of their fellows. Shall that list be quoted here in the centenary volume of the work those men tried to destroy? Would any of their descendants count it an honour to see the family name in such a connection? No, let us rather thank God, with full hearts, for the changed Jamaica of to-day; and in place of the list let the following incident be recorded to His glory.

Some years back one of these men lay dying. The dissenting minister of the district, knowing that the Episcopal clergyman was away, called at the Great House, and was admitted to the bedside. After introductory conversation, “Shall I pray with you?” he said. “Please do,” said the chapel-breaker, and his eyes filled with tears. It is necessary that the ill-deeds of the enemies of missionary work should be recorded in this volume, but let no word of bitterness or revenge be written. “Love your enemies,” said the Master, “and do good to them that despitefully use you and persecute you;” and let our reply be ever what His was as they nailed Him to the Cross, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

The total value of Baptist property destroyed by the agents of the Colonial Church Union, assisted by the riff-raff of colonial towns, is given at £14,000; but, says Mr. Clark, in “The Voice of Jubilee,” “It must not be forgotten that other Christian Missions greatly suffered. A large number of Wesleyan chapels were destroyed and their ministers imprisoned and ill-treated. One of the Moravian missionaries was treated with great cruelty by a body of militia before he was acquitted by a court-martial. An attempt was made to set fire to one of the Presbyterian places of worship. The Evangelical clergy of the Established Church were the objects of suspicion, abuse, and calumny.”

For months after the cessation of martial law a kind of

backwash of persecution disturbed the lives and damped the efforts of Jamaica missionaries of all sections who cared for the blacks. Thus, on February 7, a Commodore of the British Royal Navy wrote, in a public letter, of "the unnatural rebellion of the deluded negroes, raised in a great measure by the fanatical teaching and preaching of the sect called Baptists," and no retractation could be obtained for this slander. On April 8 a brutal attempt was made to tar and feather Mr. Bleby, an eminent Wesleyan missionary, and even to set him on fire in the presence of his wife and child, who were also roughly handled, and the young coloured men who rescued him were threatened with an action for assault. A little later a memorial to the new Governor, the Earl of Mulgrave, complains that slave-owning magistrates were hindering missionary work by refusing or cancelling preaching licences. Thus, at Montego Bay Mr. Blood, at Savanna-la-Mar Mr. Kingdon, at Morant Bay Mr. Burton, accredited Baptist missionaries, were forbidden to preach.

Before the close of that year, however, the firm, impartial rule of the Earl of Mulgrave put a stop to this petty persecution; and, indeed, these efforts of the enemies of freedom were what Mr. Bleby himself calls them, "the death-struggles of slavery." Every wrongful act against a missionary only strengthened the argument, so soon to be set forth with thrilling effect before the Imperial Parliament and the British public, that slavery itself must cease.

IV

THE HALF-WAY HOUSE OF FREEDOM

At a united meeting at Spanish Town, 1832, the Baptist brethren decided to send William Knibb to England to describe the sufferings of their people and to plead their cause. Knibb landed in June, and the story of his anti-

slavery campaign, in which in August he was joined by Mr. Burchell, is a wonderful evidence of the force of simple truth when brought home to the heart and conscience of a Christian nation. He greeted the pilot off the English coast with, "Well, pilot, what news?" "The Reform Bill is passed!" "Then, God helping me, I will have slavery down!" Soon after he was standing on the platform at Spafields Chapel at the Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society. He thrilled the audience with the story of the destruction of the chapels, and inveighed against slavery as a social system so strongly that the secretary nervously pulled his coat. A moment's pause. Shall the full truth be courageously spoken or cautiously suppressed? Courage has it! "Whatever be the consequence," he exclaims, "I will speak; nor will I desist till slavery, the greatest of curses, is removed!" A murmur like a rising storm sweeps the building, an earnest of that moral tempest which would presently sweep the institution of slavery out of the Empire. He appeared before Parliamentary Committees, describing at first hand to Lords and Commons what slavery really meant; and in the autumn of that year, joined by his Barnabas—Burchell—held Emancipation meetings from end to end of the British Isles.

The first-fruits of that mission appeared in May, 1833, when an Abolition Bill was proposed, which is aptly described as a half-way house to freedom. Slavery was to cease on August 1, 1834, but in order to prepare the emancipated negroes for freedom, they were to undergo a six years' apprenticeship, during which, like other apprentices, they were bound by law to remain with their masters, and could be captured and brought back if they ran away. Sunday market was abolished, and the apprentices could attend whatever religious service they chose. Slave-owners were to receive compensation for loss of ownership up to a total of £20,000,000.

Such was the Apprenticeship System, as it is called in Colonial history, and it may be said at once that it turned out a ghastly failure. As worked by unprincipled masters and slave-owning magistrates, it was simply slavery under a thin disguise. The apprentices were called by the shell-blow and driven to work just as before, and for the slightest offence, or for none at all, they were sentenced by magistrates and sent to the workhouse, the dungeon, the treadmill, and the whipping-post. When the two noble Quakers, Sturge and Harvey, travelled through Jamaica to examine at first hand the working of what was supposed in England to be equivalent to freedom, they found that the floggings were as numerous and as cruel, and, in the case of female slaves, as shameful as in the old days.

One young apprentice, named James Williams, they bought off and took home with them because of the clearness and vividness with which he was able to describe, from his own experience, the practical working of the system. In the summary of their report which was laid before the Parliamentary Commission, Sturge and Harvey said that the terms of the Act were violated by the planters with the connivance, and even active participation, of the Executive Government; and that apprenticeship, as thus worked, threatened, if not the ruin of the island or the disorganization of the community, a most serious permanent depreciation of property.

The last section of the report, though not dealing directly with apprenticeship, may be added here because of the testimony it gives of cultured and impartial observers to the value of missionary work in Jamaica: "A few years ago the negroes were heathen and benighted, now they are to a great extent enlightened and Christian. The Sabbath, once desecrated, is now devoted to public prayer and thanksgiving. A few years ago education was unknown; now it is making progress under many disadvantages, and waits but for freedom to become soon more generally dif-

fused than in our own country. The success of missionary labours among the servile population has been general and striking, and we earnestly commend those benefactors of the human race to the more earnest prayers, to the deeper sympathies, and to the yet more liberal support, of British Christians."

To complete this section of the story, a Government Commission, visiting the estates, confirmed the finding of the Quakers. Several high-minded owners of properties set free their apprentices. Meetings were again held in all parts of England, and petitions sent up to Parliament as in 1833 and 1834, and it was finally agreed upon by the Imperial Government and the Legislative Councils of British West Indian Islands that on August 1, 1838, complete and unconditional freedom should be given to the slaves.

V

THE STORY OF THE CHURCHES FROM MARTIAL LAW TO EMANCIPATION

It is easy to imagine how terrible a set-back to our Baptist Mission in Jamaica was inflicted by the slave revolt and the reign of Martial Law that followed it. The same kind of check was experienced in China in the time of the Boxer rising, and much earlier in India, during the Indian Mutiny. The peculiar danger, however, to our Mission work in the events of 1831-32, came from the fact that almost all our Church members belonged to that slave community, part of which had revolted, and also from the desperate effort of the slavery party, who were politically the ruling class, to make missionary work responsible for the revolt. A few old "tatas" and "grannies" still linger on the north coast, who saw the chapels burnt down, and hid in the bush from the soldiers. One of our Baptist deacons, then a powerful and spirited Coromantee, would certainly have been shot had he been

caught, although he had had nothing to do with causing the rebellion, and underneath the platform of a north side chapel there long lay the bones of another Baptist deacon, who suffered death under Martial Law.

Evidence showed, however, that while some Baptist negroes took part in the revolt, and others, it may be, were forced into it, a very large proportion stood clear, and that this was due directly to the personal influence of Baptist missionaries.

When the destruction of all these houses of prayer was made known in England, money for rebuilding was secured from two different sources. First, Parliament voted £5,510 to clear off the debts that had existed on the chapels destroyed. Then Mr. Buxton, one of that little group of godly M.P.'s to whom the West Indies stand largely indebted, secured a grant of £6,195, being half the value of the property destroyed, on condition that the Society raised the other half. Before Knibb and Burchell left England in the autumn of 1834, they had received from God's people not £6,000, but £13,000.

Cheered by these gifts, the Churches in the apprenticeship days, despite the cruelties and even horrors perpetrated upon their members, grew and flourished. On the north coast, at St. Ann's Bay, Ocho Rios, Annotto Bay, Port Maria, and Oracabessa; on the south coast, at Kingston, Port Royal, and Yallahs; inland at Jericho, Mount Charles, and Brownstown, there was prosperity and joy, and none less, we hardly need to be told, at the Churches of the pastors just returned from England—Knibb's at Falmouth, and Burchell's at Montego Bay.

Another encouraging fact was the splendid gift of the British and Foreign Bible Society of New Testaments, and parts of the Old, to all freed slaves, or rather, apprentices, who would learn to use them. The writer used to visit an old Church member who, to the day of his death, kept the Bible Society's gift book wrapped in a blue handkerchief under his pillow. Many a time has he undone the 'kerchief and

read from the time-worn volume that message from heaven, which was meant as glad tidings to all peoples. Another gift was of tracts and reading-books from the Religious Tract Society. Early in 1835 was heard from station to station the sound of saw and hammer, and the glad voices of the negro members assisting their pastors by money gifts and free labour to build again the walls that were burned with fire; and from 1835 to 1838 there were no happier gatherings held in the fair Land of Springs, than when the people in holiday dress gathered from miles round, with all the neighbouring ministers who could attend, for the solemn reopening of some restored house of prayer. Only those who have been present at similar services can realize the whole-hearted enthusiastic delight with which our Jamaica Church members, to whom the chapel is the centre of civilization, social life, help, comfort, and hope, enter into the functions of a restoration, or reopening service. To see that sight is to perceive in some measure what the Gospel has really done for the once kidnapped and enslaved children of Africa.

Several names should be recorded here of missionaries arriving from England. First, Francis Gardener, who reached Jamaica October, 1830. Three months later, without the slightest fault on his part, he was tried on a trumped-up charge of instigating the slave rebellion. Mr. Gardener went to Kingston in 1832, and was pastor of East Queen Street Chapel till May, 1838, when he died of yellow fever.

Walter Dendy came to Jamaica in the sailing ship *Garland Grove*, the same that brought Mr. and Mrs. Burchell back during the time of Martial Law. Mr. Dendy landed at Montego Bay, while the Burchells went on to Falmouth. In March, 1833, this missionary was imprisoned for preaching to slaves, but was released some weeks later, as a result of the decision of the Lord Chief Justice respecting the meaning and scope of the Toleration Act. After taking Mr. Knibb's place at Falmouth for a time, Mr. Dendy entered on his main period of service as pastor of Salter's Hill Chapel, on the north

coast. A fine new building, valued at £4,000, had been burnt down by the militia during Martial Law. Mr. Dendy opened the present building in 1836, and Maldon Chapel in 1838. In 1842 the work at Salter's Hill was disturbed by a fierce outbreak of fanaticism, taking the form of religious hysteria. In 1867 Mr. Dendy took over, on behalf of the Church, a valuable property presented by two Baptist missionaries—Messrs. G. R. and H. E. Henderson—for the formation of a settlement. The Dendy Trust, which has for many years past made an annual grant for the Baptist work in Jamaica, was bequeathed by W. S. Dendy, Esq., a son of the pastor.

John Clark, of Devonshire Church, London, reached Jamaica in 1835, and went to St. Ann's to assist Mr. Coultart. His memory is bound up with the story of the chapels at Brownstown, Bethany, Clarksonville, Sturge Town, and Stepney, some of which have now so long been served by the Rev. G. E. Henderson, M.A. The Memorials of the Jamaica Baptist Mission, written while Mr. Clark was alive, says: "His labours have been very great and his pecuniary trials from chapel erection very heavy." In all the above-mentioned districts Mr. Clark's name is held in grateful remembrance.

Samuel Oughton came to Jamaica in July, 1836. For a time he worked among the north side Churches—Lucea, Green Island, Fletcher's Grove, Gurney's Mount—but his chief work was at East Queen Street Chapel, which he enlarged in 1840. There was sore trouble over these premises in 1857 in consequence of a spurious bequeathment of them to unworthy characters. This bequest being declared null by the Jamaica Court, an angry mob gathered at the chapel, and had to be dispersed by the military. Two descendants of Samuel Oughton, Thomas Oughton, and his son, Bancroft Oughton, became distinguished lawyers at the Jamaica Court, and were all their lives the warm friends and helpers of Christian work in the island.

VI

EMANCIPATION

We have seen how the half-way house proved no resting-place. The apprentices, according to the first proposition, were to have a twelve years' preparation for freedom. This was shortened to six, but the whole system proved so ghastly a failure that four years later it was given up in favour of unconditional freedom. Ever since that time—August 1, 1838—throughout the whole of the British Dominions, slavery as a social institution has been entirely illegal. Not only so, but the condition is not recognized by the British Government in the case of other nations. No runaway slave, say from Turkey or Persia, reaching a British dominion, can be handed back to his owner. We do not recognize anyone's right to own him. On the high seas also, slaves may not be carried in British ships, and a captured slave cargo is carried to some suitable land and there set free. The moral battle whereby this absolute prohibition of slavery was finally won was fought out in the British West Indies. Since then it has been won in America, though at a terrible cost of blood and tears.

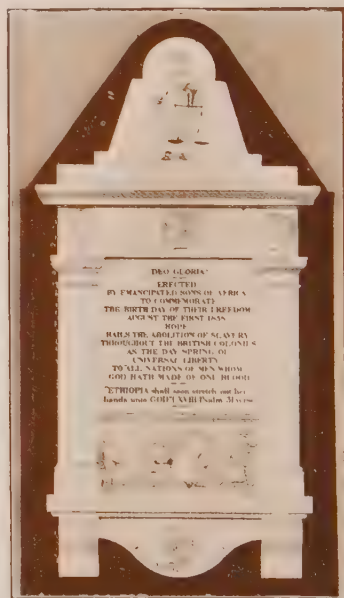
The evening of July 31, 1838, in Jamaica, was a time like that of the Exodus from Egypt, never to be forgotten. At all the largest centres of our mission—Spanish Town, Savanna-la-Mar, Brownstown, Falmouth, Montego Bay—special evening services were held resembling watch-night services. As the hour of midnight approached the crowded audience bowed in prayer, and after it had struck, rose up to praise and thank God. The scene at Falmouth, where William Knibb presided, is vividly described in his letters to Dr. Hoby: "The monster is dying," he said as the clock began to strike; and after the last stroke: "The monster is dead; the negro is free." The scene that followed this declaration,



FALMOUTH BAPTIST CHAPEL.



REPLICA OF THE CAMEO (PLEADING SLAVE)
MODELLED BY WILLIAM HACKWOOD ABOUT
1770 FOR JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, F.R.S.



COMMEMORATIVE TABLET IN
FALMOUTH BAPTIST CHAPEL.

both here and at the other chapels, words can but feebly describe. The old-time folk who were present as children, or as growing boys and girls, weep when they tell of it; and what must have been the joy of the missionaries, through whose toil and courage this good deed had been done, none but they can ever know. The climax with William Knibb seems to have been when negro mothers held up to him their little children and blessed him for setting them free.

Here and there among our stations visitors to Jamaica are shown a "Liberty Tree." This is generally a cocoanut palm, as at Brownstown, and should you count the notches or rings on the trunk, which mark the annual growth, the number would be that of the years from August, 1838, to the present time. These trees were planted on August 1, mostly in the chapel yard, and underneath them lie buried a driver's whip, a neck-chain, handcuffs and like symbols of slavery. The first day of freedom was spent in religious services, chiefly of praise and thanksgiving; the second, in giving a good time to the young. August 1 has ever since been a public holiday in Jamaica, but as the scourge and curse from which the people were that day delivered moves ever farther into the dim past, the thanksgiving for freedom becomes less conspicuous; and young Church members, inquirers, and Endeavourers, whose ancestors shouted and wept for joy, show an inclination to banish that remembrance altogether. This is much to be regretted. Just as Jehovah, through His servant Moses, urged upon the people of Israel not to forget the deliverance from Egypt, so it becomes all the Christian Churches of Jamaica, especially where the bulk of members are of African descent, not to forget the great thing God did for them when He let the oppressed go free.

It had been predicted by the slavery party that freedom would be followed immediately by riot and debauchery. As far as the emancipated people were concerned, this prophecy proved hopelessly false; there was not a single case of disorder. On the other hand, some of the rougher of the

planting community, tried in vain to verify that prediction by creating disorder. First it was announced that an effigy of Mr. Knibb was to be burnt in front of his chapel, and this was quickly exaggerated into the rumour that Knibb himself was going to be hanged. Church members flocked into the town armed to protect their pastor, and it needed Knibb himself to hush the excitement and send them home. Again, on August 15, it was mischievously announced that Massa Knibb had been shot. Again the roads into Falmouth became packed by angry and weeping crowds. It needed much toil and trouble to get the rumour contradicted. The third attempt was the publication in a local paper of a false account of these Baptist gatherings. Mr. Knibb was represented as having got together an armed mob against public law and order. The confident assurance of these lying articles gave at first some uneasiness to the Committee in England, who were not accustomed, as the Jamaica brethren were, to the unscrupulousness that at that time, and too often since, marked a certain anti-Christian section of the West Indian Press.

VII

AFTER EMANCIPATION

When the Quaker visitors, Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, traversed Jamaica in 1837 to observe the actual working of the apprenticeship system, they found on some estates an action in progress that threatened serious trouble. The slaves had been housed by their owners; the apprentices, being technically free, and in receipt of wages, could not legally claim to be thus provided for, and yet had for the most part nowhere else to live in but the old slave cottages or barracks. Some of the planters took advantage of this circumstance to try to reduce the black labourers to practical slavery, by obliging them to accept their own conditions in

regard to housing and rent. Sturge and Harvey strongly deprecated this, and it was one of the arguments that they used in favour of complete emancipation.

After freedom came, a like device was tried by those planters who wished to show that Emancipation was unworkable. We read that after August 1 multitudes of negro labourers loitered about, not knowing what wages to ask or to accept, and probably not understanding the tenure of their cottages. Attempts were made by the slave party of estate owners—first, to offer no other rate of wages than sixpence a day; secondly, to oust from the estate cottages all who would not agree to these terms, and, by leaving them homeless and starving, either to reduce them to abject dependence, which would practically be a return of slavery, or to provoke them into some such rebellion as would oblige the Government to withdraw the Emancipation Act. Happily for both parties, and for the whole industrial and moral future of Jamaica, there was a third party to be reckoned with, namely the missionaries. And among these were men of practical ability and wide experience, not bookworms or pedants, but men of action. Such were in the Baptist community—Phillippo, Dendy, Clark, Burchell, and Knibb.

Naturally enough the puzzled labourers turned to “Ministers” for advice, and were immediately counselled, not to accept the sixpence a day, but only what might be reckoned the real market value of their labour. Happily, there was a standard for this to appeal to which had been set up by the planters themselves. From August, 1834, an apprentice negro had been allowed to buy his liberty by paying down the estimated value of his labour up to the date when Emancipation was due. It was easy enough to reckon, from the values paid down, which had to be approved by the special magistrates, who were the Government agents or protectors of apprentices, the worth of a day’s labour, as estimated by the owner of the estate where the apprentice

served. These records being examined, it was found that on the estates round Falmouth, for example, a strong man's day's labour was worth 1s. 8d. if he was housed free of rent, and 2s. 6d. if he had to pay rent. One may picture the dismay of the 6d. a day coalition, when thus faced with their own previous estimates of the value of negro labour.

The housing and rent problem was even more difficult of just solution. The freed negroes were threatened with either paying an exorbitant rent or being ejected homeless into the bush. Knibb mentions a labourer who was charged 8s. 6d. a week rent out of 10s. to 10s. 6d. weekly wages; in other cases the planter's attorney was demanding a separate rent for each member of the household. As Knibb quaintly put it in a public speech: "Not only must Mister Jackson pay rent, but Missis Jackson, Harry Jackson, Tom Jackson, Buxton Jackson, Wilberforce Jackson, and Sir Lionel Smith Jackson"—a humorous reference to the people's habit of naming their children after their benefactors. On this matter the missionaries counselled their members to take a firm stand: to refuse exorbitant rent, and if cottages near at hand could not be obtained, to leave the estate and carry their labour elsewhere. Further, to make dependence on any one owner, or combination of owners, quite unnecessary, Phillippo, Clark, Knibb, and their brethren, purchased land on a large scale and let it out again, or sold it, in plots of three or more acres, to families that seemed industrious and trustworthy. This was the beginning of those free villages among the mountains of Jamaica, where to-day will be found the peasant proprietors of the land. Creditable homesteads stand there, each in its small plantation; and the average intelligence, industry, and integrity of the dwellers, are higher than what are found in the homes on the estates. Looking back in the light of the more than seventy years that have passed since then, it is not difficult to perceive that these measures saved

the situation in Jamaica, and that, not only for the emancipated black labourers, but also for the white owner, and for tradesmen and merchants who were dependent on the prosperity of both. Emancipation was saved from wreckage, and the main industries of Jamaica from ruin by the skill and care with which God's servants, guided of Him, steered the community from the old conditions into the new. It is true that for a time the output of sugar and rum, then the staple industries of the island, became less; but this was not due to the want of labour, except where the planter drove it away by impossible conditions. It is true that a clamour was raised to the effect that the free labourer did not work so well as the slave did under the lash, but this was again and again disproved by test cases, and by the figures and statistics of trade returns. It is true that the old type of planter, having failed to re-enslave the emancipated black, tried to do without him by importing labourers from other lands. The first experiments of this kind, however, proved expensive failures. Gradually, but steadily, the better-managed sugar estates settled down to the employment of black labourers, who gave their toil freely in exchange for sufficient wages, and took cottages on or off the estate according to their own judgment upon the rent demanded.

CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF THE SELF-SUPPORTING BAPTIST CHURCHES

I. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

II. SPECIAL FEATURES OF JAMAICA BAPTIST CHURCH.

- (1) The Functions of the Pastor.
- (2) Plural Pastorates.
- (3) The Class-House System.
- (4) The Ticket System.
- (5) Church Discipline.
- (6) Candidates and Baptism.
- (7) "Supper" Sunday and "So-so" Sunday.
- (8) Anniversary Services.

III. THE TEST OF CRITICISM.

IV. HISTORICAL EVENTS AND PERIODS IN THE STORY OF THE CHURCHES FROM INDEPENDENCE TO JUBILEE.

- (1) The Baptist Missionary Society Jubilee, 1842.
- (2) The Straits of Success and Visit of First Deputation, 1846.
- (3) Hard Times and Visit of Second Deputation, 1859.
- (4) The Great Revival, 1861.
- (5) Jubilee of the Jamaica Mission, 1864.

V. HISTORICAL EVENTS FROM JUBILEE TO CENTENARY.

- (1) Revolt in St. Thomas in the East.
- (2) Consolidation and Extension.
- (3) Calm and Storm.



GIANT CACTUS OF JAMAICA.



AMONG THE SUGAR-CANES.

- (4) Baptist Missionary Society Centenary and visit of Third Deputation.
- (5) Emigration of Jamaicans.
- (6) The Cyclone of 1903.
- (7) The Great Earthquake of 1907.
- (8) The Cyclone of 1912.
- (9) Visit of Fourth Deputation.

I

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The year 1842 was extremely memorable in the history of Baptist work in Jamaica. It witnessed the celebration of the Jubilee of the Home Society, which was nowhere kept with greater enthusiasm than in the land where Baptists had been used of God to break the fetters of the slave. It witnessed the founding of Calabar College for the training of ministers and teachers. It witnessed the commencement of missionary work on the part of Jamaica Baptists in lands less favoured. It also witnessed the voluntary surrender on the part of the Jamaica Churches of support from England except for college work and in times of emergency, and this step has permanently determined the character and scope of their work as a Christian agency.

Up to that time, 1842, the Mission in Jamaica had been part of the work of the English Baptist Missionary Society. Whatever monies were needed by it were voted annually on the approval of the Committee, and, whilst from the very first the pioneer missionaries spared expense wherever they could, and thankfully gathered support from converts and well-wishers in the island, and by the private subscriptions from friends at home, they had the right to present their claim and receive what the Mission required from the general revenue of the Society that sent them out. Thus, for the financial year 1841-42, out of an income of less than £17,000, the Home Society voted more than £4,000 as the

grant to Jamaica. It is, however, a recognized part of the policy of any society whose purpose is to preach the Gospel and make disciples in heathen lands, that as soon as the success of a Mission makes it possible, that Mission shall begin to bear its own burden and so release the money of the subscribers at home for carrying the Gospel further afield. In India—the oldest Mission of the Baptist Missionary Society—this was for a long time almost impossible. Hindoo converts lost all their worldly means of support on breaking caste and accepting Christ, and had to be supported by the Mission at first instead of contributing to its cost; but in more recent Missions—in China and in Congo land, where the convert does not necessarily become homeless and workless, suffering the loss of all things for his Saviour's sake—the newly formed Churches have readily and speedily undertaken the support of God's work in their midst, and at their own cost have tried to extend it among their heathen countrymen.

But while this has been from the first the Missionary Society's policy—and careful secretaries and wary members of finance committees never failed to remind the Jamaica brethren of it when receiving glowing reports from them of the increasing membership of the Churches and their enthusiasm for God's work—Jamaica was the first of foreign Baptist Missions to sign away the right of support from home, and undertake henceforth to bear the full burden of the ordinary cost of the word; nor has any other Mission of the Baptist Missionary Society since done the same.

It was on August 1, 1842, the fourth anniversary of Emancipation Day, that the brethren at their annual meeting held in Kingston decided thus to emancipate the Home Society. No more drafts were to be expected in aid of the Jamaica Baptist Mission. It was, however, stipulated that all outstanding accounts for debts incurred before that date were to be ascertained and forwarded to the Committee at home. It is right to record that this resolution was not

unanimous. The brethren of the Eastern Union, as it was then called—that is, of the Churches in the east of Jamaica—opposed the measure, being led in this by Mr. J. M. Phillippo. The Western brethren, however, including the pastors of the largest Churches, composed of members who had known the worst of slavery and were most enthusiastic over the gift of freedom, headed by leaders such as Burchell and Knibb, supported, and finally carried the proposal.

Whatever doubts may be entertained as to the expediency of this course, there can be but one opinion as to the nobility of the main object put forward by William Knibb and his party for giving up support from home, and that was, to enable the Society in England to begin missionary work in Western Africa. In this purpose the European missionary and the negro Church officer were equally Christly in spirit. Both recognized that a heavy burden was being taken up by the Jamaica Churches, and both were willing that it should be so, in hope of the Gospel of God's grace being taken to the pagan African and the blessing of deliverance to the African slave. It must have been an inspiring sight, as it was certainly a most creditable one, to see a packed congregation of negro Baptists newly brought to Christ, and but yesterday, as it were, released from slavery, responding with hearts and faces aglow to Knibb's appeal that help should be sent to dark Africa, their Fatherland. Before the subject was broached to the Home Committee, before full freedom came in Jamaica, meetings of this kind were held, and negro worshippers gave their offerings, and poured out their souls in prayer that Africa might be enlightened and set free.

With this as the main object for assuming independence, it is evident that opposition must have seemed an ungracious task. Even Mr. Phillippo, its strongest opponent, and who twenty-five years later openly deplored some of its results, wrote thus at the time the decision was made: "The consequence to me will be a suspension of much of my chapel

building and a diminution of my schools; yet so glorious in all respects would be its results if carried into effect, that I not only cordially approved the resolution, but publicly expressed the honour I felt in being chairman at the meeting.”

Expedient or otherwise, this resolution of August 1, 1842, has determined the policy of the Home Society in regard to Jamaica work ever since. From time to time help has been secured to build or to rebuild chapels and manses, and grants have been made occasionally to pay the passage of new workers from England; and, according to agreement, the salaries of the college tutors and a proportion of the upkeep of the institution have been voted as an annual grant, but from the date mentioned the support of the ministry, the upkeep of the buildings, and the incidental expenses of public worship, have been borne by each Church without assistance from England, for these seventy-two years. Whether this method has made for the spiritual good of the members and the public usefulness of the Church is a point on which competent opinions may differ; but the fact remains, and it is surely to the credit of our Jamaica Churches that it is so.

II

SPECIAL FEATURES OF JAMAICA BAPTIST CHURCH LIFE

The religious principles of a Baptist Church are mainly the same the world over. The Church is a company of believers admitted into membership on the ground of showing an intelligent grasp of revealed truth and evidence of conversion. The Bible, and that alone, is the declared authoritative Will of God and the sanction of all Church rules. Baptism by immersion is the divinely appointed outward sign of an inward spiritual grace. By baptism a man confesses repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Every true Church has Christ as its one

Supreme Head, under whom it is served by pastor and officers, elected by the members.

It is inevitable, however, that while in a community of one nationality, living in a long-civilized land, such as England, Church life founded on these principles should move on normal lines, it would take a different form in a land like Jamaica, where the first pastors were missionaries from Europe, trained and cultured, and the bulk of the members slaves or ex-slaves. It is of great interest, and perhaps necessary in a record of Christian work in Jamaica, to note down, as the writer can from practical experience, some of the special features of Jamaica Church life.

(1) *The Functions of the Pastor.*—In England these are mainly religious; the pastor preaches, gives addresses, conducts Church business, visits the sick, and supervises sympathetically the Sunday-school and all other sections of the work of the Church. In Jamaica, especially in the earlier years of the Mission, but largely also to-day, a pastor's duties are much more varied. Much more depends on his personal supervision and management. In most cases he has practical charge of the church premises, which will be kept in order or otherwise, as he does, or does not, look after them. He does the work of magistrate and solicitor in settling disputes about property among the members, of physician and even surgeon in aiding the people with their sick folk, of domestic adviser in the disagreements that trouble family life, of government agent in the management of day-schools, and in the work of parochial and government boards.

Well for him if in youth he has learnt the use of his hands and gained some bodily strength and robustness; in an accident to the buggy or the harness, to horse or mule, there will often be no one else to depend on but himself for setting things right. In the employment of labour also, say, for building a dry-stone wall, cutting down trees or cleaning a pasture, it is a great advantage if early business experience

or natural adaptability has taught him the management of men. This feature of pastoral life in Jamaica is not mentioned by way of complaint or as ground for pity; the variety of the pastor's functions gives a wide scope for extended usefulness.

(2) *Plural Pastorates*.—In England, for the most part, a Baptist Minister is pastor of one Church; in Jamaica he has many. Very few Jamaica ministers, except in large towns, preach Sunday after Sunday to the same congregation. Most spend every second Sunday at some other chapel in the circuit, some at a different chapel each Sunday of the month. Two causes make this inevitable: first, the comparative fewness of accredited ministers; second, the inability in most cases of any one Church to support a pastor of its own. In the days of the early missionaries the circuits were immense. The minister who preached at Montego Bay on the first Sunday in the month was due at Savanna-la-Mar, nearly thirty miles off, for the second Sunday. Abbott, Coultart, Dendy, Mann, had frequent journeys of from forty to sixty miles on horseback, in order to visit stations actually under their charge, one result being that a great deal of the waking life of a Jamaica pastor was spent, like that of a commercial traveller, “on the road.” The obvious disadvantage of this has been greatly lessened by the supply of well-trained native pastors since the establishment of our Calabar College. It is earnestly to be hoped that as the Churches individually grow stronger, socially and spiritually, it may be increasingly possible to lessen the circuit and appoint more pastors.

(3) *The Class-House System*.—Journeying in a mountainous island subject to flood-rains, landslips, and swollen rivers, is sometimes quite impracticable. A night of rain may make it impossible for most of the members to get to the chapel service. At the same time, the size of the circuit prevents the minister from individual intercourse with the members such as he and they would like to have. The

Fathers of the Mission, therefore, devised the plan, which perhaps they borrowed from the Wesleyans, of having a small class-house set up in each hamlet where Church members lived, and appointing in charge of it some intelligent and trustworthy member as Class-leader. The class-house is practically a chapel-of-ease for its district. Here service is held on Sundays when the members are not expected at the main chapel ; here is held the weekly prayer-meeting, and here at any time the leader can call the class members together for special business. Under good and godly leaders (for very much depends on that) the work at these class-houses has been of great value to the Baptist Churches of the island.

(4) *The Ticket System*.—In England, among the voluntary Churches, a minister's salary is gathered by pew rent, subscriptions, or collections. In Jamaica it is gathered by means of members' tickets, while the chapel collections go to meet current expenses of public worship, and the communion money is usually assigned to the poor fund. These tickets are given out yearly to all members of good standing, and are a kind of credential for full membership. On these tickets is marked month by month the member's subscription. In some Churches a kind of average rate is usual, so much per month from a male member, so much from a female ; in others, the amount is agreed upon when the membership begins. In no case is it a matter of compulsion, although if a member who is able to subscribe persistently neglects to do so, he is rightly called to account for it before the Church, who may decide that the membership shall cease.

(5) *Church Discipline*.—A Baptist Church is not composed of Christians who have reached perfection, but of converts whose desire is to grow in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord. Faults and failings are as frequent as they were among the first disciples : John and James want to be first in the kingdom, and the others quarrel with them over it ;

Satan tempts Peter, and he denies his Lord. Hence Church discipline—the investigation of charges of misconduct, the public reprimand, perhaps the exclusion from membership—forms an important part, and often a very difficult one, in the life of the Churches. Being free and voluntary, each Church has large liberty in the exercise of discipline; but with the Bible as the common Church manual and law book, creditable Baptist Churches in Jamaica are as one in the following general lines: For gross sin, such as fornication, a convicted member is excluded from membership, and his name removed from the roll; so also for proven dishonesty, such as stealing, for deliberate falsehood, for cruelty to family or neighbours, for profane language, and for chronic covetousness. Broadly, the "Thou shalt nots" of the Old Testament, interpreted by the "But I say unto you" of Christ, are the basis of the discipline of our Churches. Much has been done by means of consultation to insure uniformity of discipline in minor matters, but on main issues this has long been the practice.

It is only right to mention that there are many Churches practising baptism which are not in touch with those recognized by the Jamaica Baptist Union, and where discipline on the matters mentioned above is very different from ours. Among residents not well acquainted with our Baptist Mission, its history and its character, these independent Baptist communities are often unfairly regarded as being one with ours.

One matter of discipline may be mentioned which hardly ever comes up in England, although 300 years ago it was common enough. African witchcraft, known by its Egyptian name, "Obeah," is sadly prevalent in the West Indies, and from time to time members of our Churches are reported to be practising it. The attitude of our Churches towards this false and evil thing is that of entire severance and prohibition. Any Church member seeking the aid of an Obeah man to recover stolen property, to protect his provision

ground from thieves, to cure sickness by casting out the supposed evil spirit, or to punish an enemy by putting a ghost upon him, is liable to exclusion from membership, just as if he had broken one of the express commandments of Scripture.

(6) *Candidates and Baptism*.—The preparation and testing of candidates in Jamaica is the same in principle as what is practised in England. A candidate offers himself voluntarily and is accepted on the ground of evidence that he has accepted Christ and been accepted of Him. To get evidence of this some months' interval takes place, during which the candidate attends class, and is set to learn the way of God more perfectly. This interval may extend to a year or two years—the earlier missionaries made it three or four—until minister and Church officers are satisfied that the applicant is a fit subject for baptism. In the hands of a careful, pains-taking pastor the candidates' class is one of the most valuable Christianizing agencies of the Church.

The baptism service, as previously stated, is a sign of grace received, not a method of imparting it. No candidate is allowed to believe that he is either saved by baptism or cannot be saved without it, but that it is the Master's appointed way for confessing Him before men, and, like every act of obedience to His commands, is followed with His blessing.

The ceremony itself as practised among our Churches is as simple as when the eunuch went down into the water and was baptized by Philip, or when our Lord Himself fulfilled all righteousness by being baptized of John in Jordan. While baptistries are being increasingly used, the warm climate makes it possible to have the services generally held in the open air, the candidates being baptized in the river or the sea.

For the most part the spectators, whether our own members, members of other Churches, or outsiders, treat the service with reverence, and not infrequently impressions for

good are made which appear long afterward to the glory of God. Many a pastor finds in the open-air baptism service a welcome opportunity of preaching the Gospel to non-believers who do not hear him at any other time.

(7) *Anniversary Services*.—Church life in Jamaica is happily free from the peculiar disadvantage which British Churches are under of being overloaded with engagements. Sunday is in general a full and busy day, but the week nights are not all taken up with meetings and other functions. At some stations, indeed, by reason of the distances at which the members live, it is almost impossible to get them in any numbers to a week-night meeting. Hence the crowding of Church functions of all kinds into the hours of the Lord's Day; hence also the importance and popularity of the Church's anniversary services. The Sunday-school anniversary, and still more the missionary anniversary, are amongst the chief events of the Baptist member's annual round.

Where, as in country parts, the missionary meeting can be held during the day, beginning, say, at eleven o'clock, and ending between, say, three and four o'clock, some hundreds gather together to give the whole day to the festivity. And it is a matter of wonder to the busy European how they can sit still so long and listen to so many speeches. The evening meeting, held in town, and necessarily shorter, differs little from those in England. The good of these annual gatherings is not limited to the information given or the interest aroused upon the special topic. The free social intercourse with fellow-members from other districts; the relief and change from the narrow, monotonous round of cottage, provision ground, and market; the turning of the mind from the things of self to the wider world, and the larger issues and—let us hope—the realization of life's higher responsibilities, of the fellowship of the Gospel and of the unseen Master's presence amongst His Churches—these are some of the many benefits that our members gain from the anniversary services of our Baptist Churches.



MINISTER AND CHURCH WORKERS.



BUILDING A CHAPEL BY FREE LABOUR.

III

THE TEST OF CRITICISM

No good work in this world shows signs of prosperity without sooner or later, by the appointment of Providence, passing through the fire of criticism. In the Homeland such enterprises as Dr. Barnardo's Homes and General Booth's Salvation Army have each in turn had to stand the test of answering in public the worst that their enemies could say about them. Similarly our various foreign Missions, such as the Indian Mission after the visitation of its stations by a certain member of Parliament, have had to undergo hostile scrutiny and keen cross-examination.

In Jamaica, in slavery days, this was almost the permanent environment of our early Mission stations. Day by day at the chapel, at the manse, on the road, and among the gangs, enemies were watching for any circumstance whatever, however trivial, that could be used as a weapon against the dreaded and detested work. But, coming from avowed enemies, whose obvious interest was to quash the Mission enterprise if they possibly could, gross exaggerations and outrageous libels of slave-owning critics were taken for what they were worth by the supporters of the Society at home. Soon after freedom, however, criticism arose from another and unexpected quarter. Agents of other societies, religious men and brother workers, reported in England that the work of our Baptist Mission was not sound. The charges were mainly these: that candidates were baptized who were not really converts, nor had had proper preparation; that ministers' salaries were secured by the sale of membership tickets, which were superstitiously regarded by the negro purchasers as passports to heaven; that men of immoral character were appointed as deacons and class leaders because of their local influence or worldly means; that members in the country districts were left to the despotic

rule of incapable and unjust class leaders. One critic actually reported that rum-drinking was prevalent between the services and on anniversary days, officers and members actually taking the bottles with them into church.

The payment of monthly subscriptions by Baptist members was a favourite point of attack in the slavery days. A law was actually passed by the House of Assembly forbidding anyone to take money from slaves for the support of sectarian Missions, under the penalty of a heavy fine, and it operated to cripple our work until, like many another law against sectarians, it was disallowed by the Imperial Government.

The attack by workers of other denominations greatly distressed the Home Committee, with whom the Jamaica Mission, that slew slavery, had been for more than a decade their most conspicuous evidence of the success of the Society's work, and the most popular ground of appeal in asking for public support. Grave and urgent letters were sent to the Jamaica brethren, and it was largely in answer to these that, in 1842, ten years after his great anti-slavery campaign, William Knibb was sent home to meet the Committee. The speech he delivered on these charges, reported in full in Hinton's "Memoir of Knibb," is a masterpiece of reasoning, eloquence, and personal modesty. He disproved by personal testimony the evil practices, and repeatedly challenged his critics to give specific instances with names and dates so that the point of fact could be examined on the spot—a challenge that was never met. A minor charge, so often made since that it might almost be called chronic, was that the missionaries lived luxuriously and spent money needlessly on themselves. "Let those that say this," he said, "come out to Jamaica and spend a year at a Baptist manse assisting the missionary in his work." The same reply could be made to-day of any one of our spheres in respect of which such a criticism is made.

The finding of the Home Committee in regard to all these

charges will fitly close this section. "We have been rejoiced on all occasions to find that these accusations cannot be substantiated. The unsolicited testimony of men of unimpeachable judgment and impartiality—we refer to the published works of Messrs. Gurney, Sturge, and Candler; the well-attested results of your own Church discipline, as apparent in the annual return of the Association; and the maxim of Divine authority, that a tree is to be known by its fruits—have concurred with our specific inquiries to satisfy us of the general falsehood of the charges which have been brought against you."

IV

HISTORICAL EVENTS AND PERIODS IN THE STORY OF THE CHURCHES FROM INDEPENDENCE TO JUBILEE

Should the visitor to Jamaica ask any old-time negro his age, he will be likely to receive some such answer as the following: "Me no sabby, Massa, but when Free come me was a big growing boy;" or, "In time of Cholera me was already married;" or, "a Martial Law, me was a father with two pickney." That is to say, the Jamaica peasant's life-span is measured in his thoughts, not by years or decades of years, but by notable events.

Just similarly, Church life in Jamaica is measured out in the thoughts of the people by those events—natural, political, and religious—that determined its character and course. The first four of these have been described in earlier chapters, namely: The Slave Revolt, 1831-32; Apprenticeship, from 1834; Emancipation, 1838; the Commencement of Self-support, 1842.

Those that will be dealt with in this section may be thus summarized:

- (1) The Baptist Missionary Society Jubilee, 1842.
- (2) The Straits of Success and Visit of the First Deputation, 1846.

(3) Hard Times and Visit of Second Deputation, 1859.

(4) The Great Revival, 1861.

(5) Jubilee of the Jamaica Mission, 1864.

To these must be added three events originating within the Mission which will form the subject of separate chapters, namely: The Mission to Africa and formation of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society; the corporate union of the Churches into the Jamaica Baptist Union; the establishment of Calabar College, and development of other forms of educational work under the management of Baptist missionaries.

(1) *The Baptist Missionary Society Jubilee*, 1842.—Not in England itself was greater enthusiasm aroused over the fifty years' existence and service of the Baptist Missionary Society than was felt in Jamaica by a Baptist community, most of whom owed their release from slavery to the courage and perseverance of Baptist missionaries. The chief meeting was held at Kettering, near the north coast—a place named after that Kettering in England where the English Society was formed. William Knibb, after attending the jubilee in England, reached the other Kettering in Jamaica August 4, and was asked to undertake the preparation for the Jamaica celebration due October 5 and 6. With the help of kindly plantation-owners and attorneys, who supplied timber and carriage, and the eager co-operation of Baptist colleagues, and especially of his own people, he was able to put up a booth, or temporary meeting-house, 200 feet long and 150 feet broad, where, in the course of the day, many thousands were accommodated. Similar meetings were held at Spanish Town and other centres. In Mr. Knibb's account of the behaviour of the people, he says: "We needed not a single policeman. We lost not a single fork or spoon, though the house was like an open tavern for four days; though the meeting was full four hours long not more than three of the immense mass left their seats. I wish distinctly to record the great kindness I received

from the managers of neighbouring estates. The ordinance of the Lord's Supper closed the Jubilee Meeting, when many of the missionary band took the communion with about four thousand of the children of Ethiopia. Several of the people had walked nearly fifty miles to be present."

An interesting note of Mr. Knibb's to Mr. Sturge, says: "At our meeting at Kettering, at the request of my brethren, I addressed the deacons and leaders of the assembled Churches on the necessity of promoting the cultivation of the soil, and I have reason for believing that good has been the result." This happy association of jubilation with practical advice, in itself truly Scriptural, has long been one of the strong points, wherever it has been found, in the Jamaica ministry.

(2) *The Straits of Success and Visit of First Deputation.*—Freed from the curse of slavery, and able to assume the management and support of their own work, it was to have been hoped that the Baptist Churches of Jamaica would, in 1842, have entered upon a period of spiritual prosperity and happiness; but this was not to be. England having decided to admit the sugar from foreign slave plantations on the same terms with sugar from the West Indies, there began at once a disastrous decline in what was then Jamaica's chief industry. Sugar estates on every hand were abandoned. Work became scarce, and to recoup the revenue heavy taxes were laid on the people, and much of the money thus obtained was used for importing foreign labour and for increasing the revenue of the Established Church. As in all times of non-employment and great poverty, crime greatly increased, especially that of stealing from provision grounds, and summonses for petty debts supplied evidence that numbers of the peasantry were in a condition little removed from starvation.

The effect on Churches that had to find their own support may easily be guessed. Building and other debts mounted up to a total of £17,000. Pastors' salaries lessened until no

less than ten European workers felt obliged to leave the island and seek support elsewhere, while others died through the stress and anxiety of the times. With only ragged clothing, Church members, out of very respect for the House of God, stayed away from service, and the work declined on every hand. Thus it came about that at the united meetings at Kettering, 1844, only two years after the Jubilee rejoicings, the harassed leaders appointed Mr. Knibb and Mr. Abbott as a deputation to seek help from the English Committee.

Mr. Abbott being unable to go, Mr. Knibb undertook the mission. The speech that he made at Norwich in pleading this cause contains so good a summary of the work done by the Jamaica Mission up to that time, 1845, that a few quotations may be fittingly made at this point: "In the year 1842, when it was resolved that whatever might be the personal sacrifice each Jamaica Church should support its own pastor, we were £12,000 in debt. From circumstances that I cannot now detail that debt has increased to £18,000. Remember, however, that during the last few years we have built thirty-five chapels, sixteen school-houses, twenty-four manses, and that we have now in Jamaica forty-seven chapels and thirty manses erected in healthy places, and that the average of missionary life, which was only three years, has risen to seven. The total cost of all our buildings has been £157,000, of which sum we have succeeded with much difficulty and much diligence on the part of the people in paying off £139,000, leaving the debt above mentioned. At the time of our meeting this year merchants were pressing on every hand, newspapers were announcing that Baptist ministers could not meet their engagements; the bank that had lent money at 10 to 12 per cent. interest was demanding immediate payment. The chapel in which I preach is free from debt, and I am here to help our brethren to pay their debts.

"Their difficulties arise from the very extension of the

Gospel for which you pray. Had slavery not been abolished we should not have wanted chapels, for the slave could come only once in a month, or at best once in two weeks, and he had to work on one Sunday to get food to eat for the next. There have been erected in this part of Jamaica alone in ten years chapels to accommodate 8,000 people."

In response to this appeal the Society voted at once £6,000 towards relieving the Jamaica brethren from their more pressing necessities. "In the distribution of this sum," says a manuscript account of the transaction, "care was taken that nothing should be done to interfere with the independence of the Churches."

In 1846, in consequence of the account of distress among the Churches, the Home Society decided to send a deputation to Jamaica, and were fortunate in getting Dr. Angus and the Rev. C. M. Birrell to undertake this mission. Sir Morton Peto, one of the treasurers, generously gave £2,000, to be drawn upon for deputation expenses. These brethren were commissioned to inquire into the distress prevailing in Jamaica, its actual extent, and its probable cause or causes, and especially the working of the new principle of self-support. A little time before their arrival at a general meeting at Mount Carey, November, 1845, earnest efforts had been made both to draw the existing Churches together into helpful corporate union, and also to safeguard the denomination from the hasty multiplication of Baptist chapels that were likely to need assistance, and from the intrusion into the ministry of unworthy and incapable men. One of the resolutions is as follows: "But while we heartily disown any intention to abridge the right of the Churches to select their own pastors, we deem it advisable that no minister in the membership of this Union shall be at liberty to offer the pastoral office to anyone until he has consulted with the Committee of four brethren elected for this purpose."

Another resolution provides "That the Committee take cognisance of the supply of destitute Churches, and of all matters affecting the welfare of the Mission."

The next is "That the decisions of the Committee be laid before the General Committee for confirmation or otherwise."

Lastly, "That the expenses of the Committee be met by the Union."

From these minutes it is evident that the Baptist denomination in Jamaica had become a responsible organized Union, authorized to guide, if not to control, to some extent the independent Churches that were included in its membership. The story of this Baptist Union will be told separately in a later chapter of this volume.

The deputation, after full and patient inquiry, decided that, though the principles of independence and self-support, assumed at a time when the Churches were heavily in debt and the whole island passing through a time of financial depression had operated to deprive the Churches of all claim to support from home at a time when they needed it, they, the deputation, were unable to recommend the resumption of support from home. They considered that in circumstances and membership the Jamaica Churches were stronger than many of the contributing Churches in England. While, therefore, the Home Society was not likely to refuse aid in cases of great and unforeseen emergency, and would assist brethren having proper credentials to collect by way of special appeal, no such aid would be undertaken as would interfere with the real independence of the Churches. It may here be added that on this matter no subsequent deputation from England has come to any other decision.

The years 1845-46 were saddened for the Jamaica Churches by the deaths of William Knibb and Thomas Burchell. It must not be supposed from the frequent mention of the names of these two brethren, that they alone

did the whole glorious work of liberating the slaves, and gathering the converted freed men into Christian Churches and Christian Unions. There were others just as earnest and working just as hard, such as Clarke, Dendy, and Phillippo. Others, moreover, will soon be mentioned to whom the good work of our Mission and its solid success stand as deeply indebted as to any of the earlier pioneers. But it so came about under the ordainment of Providence that those two workers, Burchell and Knibb, became prominent in the forward movement of the Baptist Mission, and stood most conspicuous before the public eye both in Jamaica and in the Homeland. Knibb's fine personality, immense energy, warlike courage, and gifts as a speaker, singled him out to represent that noble band that put an end to British slavery; and Burchell's organizing ability, as shown in Jamaica in the founding of free villages and the formation of Churches, as well as his association with Knibb, like Barnabas with Paul, in advocating the cause of freedom on English platforms, have given him a like historical prominence in our denominational history, as well as the general religious history of the people of Jamaica.

(3) *Hard Times and Visit of Second Deputation*.—The manuscript chronicle already referred to—a valuable record drawn up by two honoured brethren recently passed away, and of which the editor is gladly making large use in this section of the history—records as follows: “From February, 1846, to December, 1852, we have found no records of the Baptist Union, nor is it possible to say what meetings were held.” It would seem as if the death of the two great leaders, Knibb and Burchell, the retiring from the service of other brethren because of the failure of the self-supporting Churches to supply the needs of themselves and their families, together with the prevailing poverty of the peasant, and the refusal of the House of Assembly to make any laws except for the relief of the planting class, to which most of the members belonged—it would seem as if these things combined dis-

couraged the brethren from holding united public assemblies. Each minister or Church was too hard pressed in maintaining the Church's existence to be able to turn aside and spend days in united consultation. We know, however, from the glimpses we get of individual efforts, as well as from the results appearing in later records, that there was much quiet heroism at work out of sight during those dark days. In isolated spheres, ministers with almost no salaries, doing all the repairs to house, harness, and children's shoes with their own hands, were holding service regularly from church to church, training the leaders and teachers, and preparing the inquirers for baptism. Meanwhile the minister's wife made clothes for herself and her children from almost nothing, and professing not to be hungry that there might be more yam and banana for the children, was holding her Girls' Bible-class regularly, listening with cheerful patience to the long-worded petitions and complaints of female members, and using her scanty stock of medicines and household necessities for the relief of the sick and suffering. Class-leaders, too, were standing loyally by their district classes, persuading the members to come to prayer and forget their poverty, and resist the temptation to steal from their neighbours' grounds. Negro members, too, who loved Church and pastor, were making shift to attend service in spite of threadbare garments, and quietly putting aside, in spite of hunger, the yam or coco-root or bread fruit, to carry it at dusk to the mission-house, for the minister and his family, or, as they expressed it, “De minister an' de missis an' fe dem fambly.”

Such things have been again and again in the story of our Jamaica Churches. They do not find a place in any earthly report, but in the heavenly record of Him who has said, “Whoso giveth a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple, he shall in nowise lose his reward.”

“Men know Thee, heed Thee, praise Thee not :
The Master praises ; what are men ?”

"It never rains but it pours," says an old proverb, and certain it is that in the providence of God, both in man's life and in the life of a community, there come times when sorrows are multiplied. In 1850 the distress from commercial depression, unfair laws, and unsupported ministry, was deepened by a serious outbreak of cholera, which "swept over the land, sparing neither sex nor age." In the first three months twenty thousand died, and before the plague left one-tenth of the whole population of Jamaica had been swept away. In the country parts field work almost ceased, and in the towns there was terror and depression. At such seasons, however, it is a common experience that the wicked bow before the just. Whatever may be the beliefs or disbeliefs of individual people or classes, however they may have mocked at religion and tried to hinder the work of God, in widespread public disaster the bulk of the people will turn to the godly amongst them for counsel and for comfort. It might almost be said that public adversity is the Church's opportunity. It has certainly been the turning-point towards success in spheres of foreign missionary service. Thus the awful famine in China in 1876-77 turned the people's intense hostility to Timothy Richard and his colleagues into warm and grateful esteem. In the cholera epidemic the missionaries of all societies threw themselves fearlessly into the work of succouring the sick, comforting the dying, befriending the widow and the fatherless; and, as in all such work for the ever-watchful Master, they did not fail of their reward. This will be seen later.

At the Baptist Annual Meeting at Mount Carey in January, 1853, it was found that out of forty-seven Churches in the Union twenty-nine had not sent delegates, and out of twenty-five pastors ten were absent. The following resolution on this matter was passed: "That we exceedingly regret the absence of so many of our brethren—the pastors and delegates—and whilst we deeply sympathize with those whose peculiar circumstances have prevented their atten-

dance, we would affectionately commend to the attention of the pastors and Churches in the Union the importance of making such arrangements as will prevent the recurrence of a circumstance to be deeply deplored, and that a copy of this resolution, with an affectionate letter from the Secretary, be sent to every absent member of the Union."

Up to this date, 1853, there had been two Unions—one for the east of the island and one for the west. At the Falmouth meeting, February, 1854, these two were united under the title "Jamaica Baptist Union," which continues unto this day. At the Montego Bay meeting, 1856, the Churches numbered forty-eight; the pastors, twenty-five; the members, seventeen thousand three hundred and ninety-two. The annual presentation of such statistics has continued uninterrupted from 1852 to the present time.

The story of our day-schools belongs to the chapter on educational work, but it may be mentioned here that the proposal of the Government at this time to make grants to these schools, turning them from denominational Mission schools into schools under State patronage and control, was the subject of the following resolution: "That this meeting, deeming it unscriptural and injurious to the Churches of Christ that they should receive support or endowment from the State, feel it to be their duty to recommend their fellow Christians in general professing Nonconformist principles, and the members of their own body in particular, to decline pecuniary aid from the Legislature, either in the form of grants for building chapels or stipends for ministers or schoolmasters." It was not until 1866, when the State Church in Jamaica had been disestablished and disendowed, the House of Assembly abolished, and Crown Government put in its place, that grants for schools were accepted by the Baptist ministers. Meanwhile, however, the following timely resolution was passed in regard to the Sunday-schools attached to our Churches: "That this meeting earnestly commends our Sabbath-schools



TYPICAL PEASANT HOMES.



A COUNTRY ROAD.

to the Churches in the Union as most important in their object, very special in their claims, and increasingly successful in their operations, and expresses its earnest hope that on the part of both Churches and pastors, the beloved brethren and others who are engaged in conducting them, will meet with much sympathy, countenance, and co-operation." Not long after this a Sunday-school Society was formed as one of the recognized institutions of the Baptist Union, and this Society, under the able leadership of the Rev. William Head, has long been a valuable agency in our midst.

In 1857, in view of the continued distress and depression, social and spiritual, lying upon the island, crippling pastoral effort and preventing all real progress, two important steps were taken. One was to appoint a Committee to consider the best plan to promote a revival of religion in the Churches; the other was to request the Home Committee to send a deputation to Jamaica. The story of the Great Revival will be given in the next section, but, in view of that wonderful answer from heaven to the longing of God's people, it seems well to quote the recommendations of the Revival Committee. They were: (*a*) The pastor to hold special Church meetings of the members to consider the spiritual state of the Church, the members to be invited to give suggestions and exhortations. (*b*) Ministers to invite neighbouring ministers to co-operate by holding similar meetings each in his own church or churches. (*c*) While Church meetings were held to revive the piety and zeal of professing Christians, congregational meetings should be gathered for awakening the careless and the wicked. (*d*) Pastor, leaders, and members to organize house-to-house visitation in each district of the sphere. (*e*) The minister to preach a special course of sermons with a view to religious revival, hold Bible instruction classes, and have certain days set apart for united prayer.

The request for a deputation was the outcome of a letter from ten European brethren in Jamaica, who felt unwilling

to continue their work under the existing conditions. In 1859, at the beginning of the cold season, Dr. Underhill, one of the secretaries of the Home Society, and the Rev. J. T. Brown, well known as "Brown of Northampton," came to Jamaica and spent five months inspecting the Churches. It was this personal contact with Jamaica work which made Dr. Underhill a warm friend and helper of the brethren all the rest of his life, and equipped him to be their representative and helper six years after his visit during the dreadful episode of the Morant Bay Tragedy. (See his book with this title.)

Their prolonged visitation seems to have produced the impression on the deputation that things were not as dark as they had been represented to be. In spite of serious lets and hindrances ministers and members had done more than had been supposed. This view was probably urged by the visiting brethren in order to restore heart and confidence in the hard-pressed and discouraged toilers in the Jamaica field; but those who have watched from the field itself the coming and going of deputations from home and have read their reports, will agree with an experienced worker who exclaimed: "How hard it is to get a deputation to see the dark side of what he looks at!" It is not to be implied from this remark that the fault is with the deputation. He may perchance have readier eyes for the rosy side of things, but after all he can but see what the brethren on the spot choose to show him; and these brethren, without any dishonest intention, are inevitably inclined to put forward whatever is pleasant and encouraging in the work of their spheres. All unconsciously they seek for the approval of the deputation instead of enabling him to see "things as they are." Dr. Underhill and Mr. Brown gave useful advice upon the matters submitted to them; but at the meeting at Montego Bay, above referred to, the statistics were far from encouraging, and the brethren took the wisest course possible when they unanimously decided to set apart a complete

week for invoking the outpouring of that Holy Spirit which alone can make souls live, grow in grace, and bring forth much fruit.

(4) *The Great Revival*, 1861.—The old-time people of the Churches who remember that period have thrilling tales to tell of what they call “Revival,” and from all accounts the event is aptly called a landmark, and one of the most important in the story of the Jamaica Baptist Mission. One of the best accounts of it is found in Dr. Underhill’s “Life of Mr. Phillippo.” The following narrative is drawn partly from that source, partly from the manuscript chronicle referred to previously, and partly from the reminiscences of the dear old leaders and members who saw it all. The first visible effect of a Heaven-sent spiritual influence was seen at a Moravian place of worship. From the south coast the movement spread like a wave to the central parishes, to Spanish Town and Savanna-la-Mar on the south, and from Montego Bay to St. Ann’s Bay on the north, and finally right through the land. The spiritual signs were an intense conviction of sin and a desire for salvation on the part of thousands who had lived contentedly without religion, the return of numbers of backsliders anxious to be restored, confessions of default and inconsistency on the part of Church members of good standing, and an earnest craving for more holiness and truer peace with God, followed by an intensity of joy and thankfulness when forgiveness was realized, faith imparted and strength received to live henceforth a new and better life. The outward signs—those that the world could see—were equally real and interesting. Chapels that had been partly empty on the Lord’s Day were now crowded. The weeknight prayer-meeting found the seats all full; in some places meetings were held night by night, and even in the early morning before the people went to work. In their outward behaviour a visible change came over the people; men became sober, and rum shops had to be closed because their trade was gone, or, better still, the dealer

himself had been converted. Old debts were honourably cleared off, long-standing feuds were healed up. And in place of the scanty, tardy contributions that could not support the minister or keep the chapel in repair, the revived members offered willingly unto God and to His work such as they had to give. The Church statistics at the following meeting showed a net increase to the Baptist Church of 4,422, bringing up the total membership to 20,026, while the inquirers numbered 6,058. Another most welcome sign was the building of new chapels, the enlarging of old, and the complete repairing and restoration of the many church buildings that were time-worn and dilapidated.

What this mighty change meant to the worn spirits of faithful workers who, while walking in darkness and seeing no light upon their way, had yet trusted in God and stayed themselves upon the Lord, it would be impossible for us to say. The resolution passed at the annual meeting at St. Ann's Bay in February, 1861, in some measure records this: "That this meeting, having heard with feelings of unfeigned thankfulness and joy, both from the report of the Churches and the statements of the Delegates to this Board, that a great and glorious work is now in progress in the Churches and congregations connected with this Union, would recognize therein a gracious answer of God to the many prayers of God's people for a revival of His work, and while it deeply regrets that in some instances there has arisen much superstition and extravagance, it confidently believes that if there be in connection with this movement affectionate watchfulness and effort on the part of pastors and officers of the Churches, with continued earnest prayer for the blessing of the Great Head, these evils will pass away, and the present awakening will redound to the glory of God, the greater permanent prosperity of the Churches and congregations, and the salvation of many thousands of souls.

"That this Union recommends that the last week in the

month of April be set apart by the Churches for special thanksgiving for the present religious awakening, and for prayer on behalf of the newly awakened and backsliders who profess to repent of their past sins, and who have resolved to return to the service of God."

It is a fact to which all history bears witness, that there is no movement for good among the sons of men but has its attendant evil, and spiritual movements do not escape this law. The Gospel is a savour of life unto life, but also of death unto death; and in every great revival of which we have record there has come a time when the powers of evil have laid hold of it and wrested the movement to wrong purposes. It is no cause for surprise, therefore, if this happened in the course of the Revival in Jamaica. After a time the strong agitation of spirit took as it were an animal form and became mere nervous excitement, developing in many cases into that religious hysteria which so much troubles still the less cultured of the people. Instead of bowing reverently in prayer to make confession of sin and ask the grace of forgiveness, the inquirers, or those who thought themselves such, waved their arms about, threw themselves down in the aisles and rolled about in a senseless frenzy regardless of order and even of decency. An old Church leader, one of those staunch and stalwart fathers of native birth, who are the true pillars of our Jamaica Churches, witnessing this wild rush and degraded grovelling when a chapel was opened for service in the height of the Revival, planted himself in mid-aisle to check the frenzied tide, and with uplifted hands of protest exclaimed, "Bredren, dis is no more de work of God, but of de Devil." He was right, that good old man. At that place, as at some others, what had begun in good had been turned aside by the powers of darkness and made a means of evil.

Let not, however, the critic reason, as critics of revivals are so fond of doing, that the whole movement was unspiritual and morally useless; as has been recorded above,

thousands of bad men and women become good, thousands of professing disciples of Jesus gave up un-Christly ways and followed the Master more closely; and the social life of hamlet and town—indeed, of the whole community—received a cleansing and an uplift which could only come from the Giver of all good and perfect gifts. In the Churches, too, the evil of the Revival was comparatively transient: real converts regained their self-control and learnt the way of God more perfectly, whilst the mere fanatics, whose excitement had no spiritual reality behind it, were severed from the Church and went to their own people.

To our Jamaica Ministers' and Deacons' Boards on whom the responsibilities of small attendances and scanty funds had been pressing with a crushing weight, the Revival brought a great net balance of good. Thus Montego Bay's second Church enlarged its sanctuary to seat three hundred more worshippers, and Watford Hill two hundred and fifty; and the pressing demand for more pastors, together with a reasonable prospect of their being supported by the Churches, brought welcome additions to the ministerial staff.

Two distinct Church movements may be traced to the influence of this Revival. One was a marked increase of independent action on the part of the Church or Churches under individual ministry. It had been the custom, as we have seen, for the brethren to consult together in regard to the appointment and transference of pastors, the formation of new Churches, the building of new chapels. But under the glad embarrassment of crowded inquirers' classes, numerous baptisms and eager willingness of the members both to give and to work, the pastors did not wait for consultation but went ahead, each using the present opportunity to the best of his ability to strengthen and extend Baptist work in his district. Again, in the pressing need of more pastors, brethren were taken into office in the island, or brought over from Europe, on the initiative and at the

choice of this or that Pastor and Deacons' Board. It is hardly necessary to record that this excessive independence carried serious risks, and has not proved itself an unmixed good.

The other movement was in the opposite direction, and appears to have had its impulse from a recommendation by the Union at its annual meeting in 1861: "We respectfully recommend that associations of Churches in any one district be formed wherever practicable." The parishes into which Jamaica was divided by Government formed a convenient basis of division, and from that time forward our Baptist Churches, amid many vicissitudes, have been grouped into such associations as the North Cornwall, the Trelawney, the St. Catherine's, and the St. Mary's. Thus, if individual Churches under the stress of sudden and large additions ceased to some extent to depend on the direct guidance of the United Board, they were brought to their own great good under the influence of the District Board—the smaller council of ministers and delegates in their own neighbourhood. The advantages of such an arrangement hardly need to be pointed out. It is on the analogy of almost all human organizations in communities constitutionally governed. Union is strength, and it is to be earnestly hoped that that valuable fellowship and co-operation which do not interfere with independence, but guide it for its good, will be maintained and fostered by all the Churches which now constitute the Baptist Mission in Jamaica.

(5) *The Jubilee of the Jamaica Mission*.—This event was celebrated in 1864, and forms another landmark in the story of the Mission. Spiritually it found the Churches still enjoying the wave of blessing the Revival brought, but financially and socially it found the Jamaica community, both employers and employed, in deepening distress. The sugar industry had gone down, and to make up for the shortage of revenue the House of Assembly, mainly composed, as it had always been, of employers of

negro labour, was still pursuing the mad policy of trying to make the labouring population pay for everything. Perhaps the traditional idea of trying to show that Emancipation was a mistake underlay this policy; perhaps it was merely that selfish class-interest, which is the temptation of any legislative body that does not represent in proper proportions all classes of the community they govern. In 1862 the Baptist leaders had had some hope of a change for the better under the then Governor, Mr. Edward John Eyre. With the lives of their negro members purified and uplifted by the great Revival, pastors and officers had viewed with increasing disapproval and regret the notoriously loose lives of many of the employers and Government officials, and from the Baptist Union a petition had been sent to the Governor to the following effect: "That this meeting, feeling a deep interest in the morals of the community, and having had its attention directed to the low state of morals, records its conviction that greater progress in morality and religion would take place if persons who are appointed to occupy places of trust or honour in the community were invariably men of irreproachable character and good moral life. It therefore resolves to memorialize His Excellency the Governor that in all appointments made by His Excellency he would be pleased, so far as can be ascertained, to appoint to offices of trust and honour only such persons whose moral character may so appear as to be an example worthy of imitation by the community at large."

The response of the Governor was so cordial, backed as it was by firm opposition to the class favouritism of the House of Assembly, that the Baptist Union hailed Mr. Eyre as the friend of their cause, and did their best by petitions to the Home Government to get him promoted from Acting or Lieutenant-Governor to Governor in full. Great then was their disappointment when a short time later he appointed to a vacant post under Government a man well-known to be living a grossly immoral life: "Put not your trust

in princes," says the wise old Book, "but in the living God."

From these untoward circumstances it was a great relief to the brethren in Jamaica to prepare to celebrate their Mission's Jubilee—to raise their Ebenezer with the grateful inscription "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." And indeed, amid all the trials and disappointments that attend the earthly service of God in every sphere, how much there was in the fifty years' story of the past to encourage the Jamaica workers! As Mr. Phillippo says: "Think of thirty thousand souls converted to God in this our island alone! Every one of them once depraved, but now regenerated sons and daughters of Ham, together with the thousands now before the throne of God and the Lamb; and thousands more gathered into the fold of Christ through the instrumentality of other societies, altogether amounting, on a moderate calculation, to little less than two hundred thousand souls who, had it not been for missionary exertions, would, in all probability, have been still either sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, or have entered upon a state of hopeless and interminable woe." Writing of this Jubilee, fifty years later still, it is interesting to notice the preparations then made and the names of the leading men. A Jubilee Committee was formed, consisting of brethren Clark, Dendy, East, Fray, J. E. Henderson, and Phillippo, with Mr. Hewett in the chair. Their recommendations include the following:

1. "That the Jubilee be commemorated by the holding of the Union Meeting in Montego Bay in February, 1864.

2. "That Tuesday, February 23rd, 1864, be devoted during the sittings of the Union to the commemoration of the Jubilee.

3. "That special prayer-meetings be held at each station the first week in February, 1864, to supplicate the Divine blessing on the Jubilee Services, and that other devotional services be held during the year.

4. "That each Church be recommended to set apart a day as well as a Sabbath day for special Jubilee Services.

5. "That ministers, neighbours to each other, or associations be recommended to originate meetings to commemorate the Jubilee.

6. "That during the Jubilee year an earnest effort be made to raise a sum of not less than three thousand pounds in this island for the advancement of the Saviour's cause in connection with the Churches of Christ associated in the Union; that one-third of this sum be raised for Africa, one-third for the repair of Mission premises to be spent at stations raising the amount, and one-third for a fund to promote education.

7. "That each Church be left to adopt its own plans to raise as large a sum as possible for the Jubilee Fund.

8. "That the Committee ascertain whether a public meeting can be held in Kingston."

Different tasks in connection with the Jubilee were assigned to capable brethren. Thus Messrs. Clark, Dendy, and Teall were to prepare the requisite literature; Mr. Clark an epitome of the history of the Mission; Mr. Teall a four-paged tract of the importance of keeping Jubilee, and Mr. Dendy a series of Jubilee Hymns. The chief service arranged in connection with the Baptist Union Meetings was held in Montego Bay on February 23—the Anniversary of the landing of Mr. Rowe, our first missionary, in 1814. The Baptist Chapel in which the service was held replaced one that was burnt down by the Church Defence Union in 1831. Though accommodating 2,000 people, it was crowded to excess on this Jubilee Day; and there they praised God and rejoiced together—pastors, officers, and people, free to worship God as they would and none daring to make them afraid. Of the brethren whose names are mentioned as taking part—Reid, Millard, G. R. Henderson, Kingdon, Maxwell, Webb—one only remains alive. They left their mark, however, or rather their Master's mark, on hundreds of lives for time and eternity. The names of some of them are

household words in the people's homes, and their works do follow them.

Jubilee Meetings were held that year at almost all the Churches in the Union, and although severe drought, widespread sickness, high prices for clothes, and low wages on the sugar estates, crippled and discouraged the efforts of the people, there were many fine services held, and the Churches, according to their ability, offered willingly unto the Lord.

To secure sympathy and help from home in connection with this fiftieth anniversary, Mr. Teall went to England as a deputation, and brought back a Jubilee Fund, afterwards supplemented by money raised in Jamaica. This was used for developing and multiplying the day-schools attached to the Churches, all of which were then supported on the voluntary principle.

In 1865—to complete the story of our Churches up to the time of the next historical landmark—the Jamaica Churches felt in severe form that reaction which history tells us is likely to follow a period of general excitement, no matter of what nature. In human history, as in mechanics, a strong swing of the pendulum in one direction is followed by an equal swing in the other. Think of Puritan life in England under the Commonwealth, and of what it changed to under Charles II. One fact, however, should not be lost sight of in considering the sad phenomenon of spiritual reaction after a revival. It is not the solid good gained that is again lost, but the show, the noise, the nervous excitement—in a word, what was not quite real, that turns afterwards into indifference and relapse. The manuscript chronicle says: "There can be no doubt that at the time of the religious awakening, which was accompanied by so much bodily excitement, large numbers of persons were baptized or restored and added to the Churches who had never felt the saving power of Divine grace: minds with little training that mistook emotion for conversion, and mere hysteria for the indwelling of the Spirit. When the outward signs of

revival were past, and no more exciting meetings were held, these weak souls fell away and yielded themselves again to the world, the flesh, and the devil." The Union report for 1865 is speaking of these when it says: "Large numbers of persons have had to be excluded, most of them for the grossest of fleshly sins, and but few are seeking restoration or manifesting anxiety about their souls." The Board surely acted wisely, and took the one course that promised better things, when they decided to humble themselves before God, and implore Him to restore to the Churches the joy of His salvation.

V

HISTORICAL LANDMARKS FROM JUBILEE TO CENTENARY

(1) *The Revolt in St. Thomas in the East.*—The year 1865 in Jamaica is referred to by the peasantry as the time of "Martial Law," and as prominent Baptist workers were publicly declared, both in Jamaica and in England, to be the instigators of the trouble of that time, just as Knibb, Burchell, and their comrades had been accused of being the instigators of the slave revolt in 1831-32, the story of this event in abbreviated form must have a place in the story of our Jamaica Mission. It has been mentioned more than once in the previous chapter that at this time Jamaica was suffering from severe commercial depression, which was increased instead of relieved by the policy of the House of Assembly. In 1865 the distress among the negro labourers became so keen that the Baptist Missionary Society made a large grant of money—£2,500—to relieve the dire poverty of the Baptist congregations and their pastors. Rev. D. J. East, President of Calabar College, in his reminiscences, unpublished, says: "There was hardly any employment for labourers on the sugar estates through the failure of the crop. The provision grounds of the people scarcely



DR. JOSEPH ANGUS.



REV. J. J. FULLER.



DR. UNDERHILL.

VETERAN FRIENDS OF THE JAMAICA BAPTIST MISSION.

produced anything (through the prolonged drought); for corn-meal and flour all classes had chiefly to depend on imported supplies. Even to buy these the poor had to run into debt at the island stores, thus crippling their resources for years. In some districts the mango-plum, growing wild by the wayside, was the only food of the people."

Dr. E. B. Underhill, then secretary of the Society, who had visited the island a short time before the Revival, and maintained the warmest interest in it ever since, was so concerned at the accounts he received of the prevailing distress, that he wrote an official letter to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In this letter he sums up the situation in Jamaica thus: "The immediate cause of this distress would seem to be the drought of the last two years; but in fact this has only intensified the suffering already existing. There is not sufficient work for the people, nor the capital at hand to employ them. Hence the alarming increase of crime, especially larceny and petty theft. The people steal because they are too poor to buy food. Hence also the ragged and even naked condition of so many of them, so contrary to their usual taste for dress. To quote the testimony of a member of the House of Assembly: 'Hardly a boy under ten years of age has a frock to cover him, and adults from the raggedness of their garments go about not decently clad.'"

Of the second cause of distress, the policy of the Legislative Council, Dr. Underhill speaks guardedly thus: "I shall say nothing of the course taken by the Jamaica Legislature: of their abortive Immigration Bill, of their unjust taxation of the coloured population, of their denial of political rights to the emancipated negroes, of their refusal of just tribunals." On this matter he recommended a searching inquiry by Government into the laws passed since emancipation, into the incidence of the taxes, and the administration of justice. He further recommended that

the Government should encourage peasants to grow produce for exportation other than sugar and rum.

The charge of injustice towards any section of British subjects or dependents has always been regarded as a serious one by British public opinion. So far as it existed at this time, it would seem to be due to the following circumstances: By reason of the restricted franchise the members elected to the House of Assembly were almost all sugar planters, elected by some two thousand persons whose interests were with that class. Again, the magistrates appointed were from the planting community. Then, as now, it would have been difficult to find J.P.'s elsewhere, unless missionaries would accept the position; but the result, as testified by reliable witnesses, was extremely disastrous. At some courts the peasant could never win a case against employer. The reports of this, passed about on market days, created among the labourers a distrust of the Magistrates' Court—in itself a most unfavourable condition for the public weal. In some districts, indeed, negroes and coloured people gave up taking cases into court, and instituted a kind of private court composed of their own leading men.

Dr. Underhill's letter was forwarded to Governor Eyre for consideration and comment in February, 1865, and by the Governor it was sent out with a circular to practically all Government officials and ministers of all denominations. Naturally it became scattered broadcast, was reprinted in the papers, and became the general subject of discussion. Meetings were held in all the Jamaica towns which were called "Underhill Meetings." These public meetings displeased Governor Eyre, who spoke of them as "got up mostly through the agency of Baptist ministers," and "that Baptist ministers in many instances took a prominent part, addressing the mob, and vouching for Dr. Underhill's allegations." In April a number of the peasants in St. Ann's addressed a petition direct to the Queen, describing their condition and complaining, among other things, that their

little holdings and gardens were trampled under foot by the cattle of estate owners, who refused compensation, and asking Her Majesty to grant them land elsewhere.

In due time a document was issued from King's House, entitled "The Queen's Advice," and purporting to be (though this was never officially stated) Her Majesty's reply to the petition. Its tone was curt and harsh, and it was felt by the people to be a mere mockery of their distress. In May the Governor of Jamaica sent in his report to the Colonial Office. He speaks of the Underhill Meetings as "got up for the most part by political demagogues," and refers to "the serious mischief done amongst an ignorant and easily led population when the missionaries residing amongst them, and professing to be their friends and teachers, endorse such statements as those contained in Dr. Underhill's letter." No notice was taken by the Governor of Dr. Underhill's recommendation that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the real facts of the suffering and discontent.

Where public wrong is practised and persisted in in spite of lawful remonstrance there inevitably comes a crisis or climax when the primal instincts of human nature take the matter into their own hands and decide it by force. This should never be necessary in a civilized community, and, alas! cannot happen without widespread loss and damage. It was on October 7, at Morant Bay, that the revolt began. The details have been set forth in many publications and need not be repeated here. It is enough to record that an arrest was resisted, the constables overcome, and that shots having been fired into the crowd, Morant Bay Court House was attacked and burnt and eighteen people, including the Custos and the Parish Curate, were put to death. Once started, the revolt spread quickly from estate to estate, and though there was no further killing there was much burning and plundering. The revolt was short-lived. Martial Law was declared over the eastern parts of the island and con-

tinued to November 13, but by Monday, October 16—three days after the revolt began—all resistance was over, and the first court was sitting to try prisoners. The scenes among the eastern mountains when the soldiery with their officers were let loose to hunt down rebels and to terrorize the peasant population are best not described in detail. The writer has talked with survivors of that time, both soldiers and peasants, and has heard at first hand tales of barbarity and of suffering which we trust will never more stain the annals of our island story. The findings of the Royal Commission sent out from home were mainly these:

That Martial Law was continued unnecessarily long; that the punishments inflicted on supposed rebels were too severe, and the punishment of death too frequent; that the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous; that the burning of a thousand houses in the eastern districts was wanton and cruel. It is recorded that four hundred and thirty-nine peasants were put to death, eighty-five of them without trial. Of the many unjust executions the most notorious was that of G. W. Gordon, a coloured man, and a member of the House of Assembly, where he proved himself a strong advocate of the interests of the negroes. This unfortunate man, supposed to be an instigator of rebellion, was arrested in Kingston where Martial Law did not obtain, and carried by the Governor's orders into St. Thomas in the East, where by Martial Law he was tried, condemned, and executed. Of this transaction the Lord Chief Justice of England said: "It was altogether unlawful and unjustifiable." The atrocities of the suppression of the revolt were increased by the employment of the Maroons. These negro descendants of the early slaves of the Spaniards, living then, as they do now, amid the peaks and gullies of the Cockpit country, were employed by the military to scour the mountains of eastern Jamaica and hunt out supposed rebels. In these raids many persons were shot and one hundred and forty cottages were destroyed.

One other incident connected with the suppression needs to be mentioned here because it concerns a Baptist minister of good standing. The Rev. Edwin Palmer was minister of the Baptist Church in Hanover Street, Kingston. Earlier in the year of the Rebellion, in May, 1865, he had spoken, as so many others had done, both ministers and laymen, at one of the Underhill Meetings; in October Mr. Palmer was arrested on an unstated charge, put on board a ship of war, and conveyed to Morant Bay, where Martial Law prevailed; and it was only after thirty-four days of imprisonment and ill-treatment that he was released on a Writ of Habeas Corpus, and ordered to come up for trial in Kingston before the Special Commission. It was then only that he learnt he was charged with using seditious language. A prejudiced jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

The writer remembers Mr. Palmer twenty-five years later when he was closing a long ministry of usefulness and general respect at the Kingston Church.

The remaining story of the revolt can be quickly told so far as it affected our Baptist Mission. Before the Special Commissioners Mr. Eyre did not advance his accusations against Dr. Underhill and his Baptist comrades in Jamaica—a curious analogy to the withdrawal of the charges against Mr. Knibb after the revolt of 1832. On the other hand, charges were instituted against Governor Eyre and Provost-Marshal Ramsay, who had conducted the executions in the affected district of Jamaica, of irregular and cruel procedure; and although no sentence of condemnation was obtained, either in Jamaica or in England, the Governor was superseded, nor was he sent out again in Colonial service.

(2) *Consolidation and Extension*.—It is the blessed law of Providence, as declared long ago by the prophet, that for all true servants of God good comes out of evil and light out of darkness. Just as the attempt to destroy our work after the revolt of 1832 brought about the destruction of slavery and

the public recognition of missionary work as an agency for good, so the attempt to fasten upon the Secretary of the Society in England and leading workers in Jamaica the responsibility for the Morant Bay rising resulted in the removal of the plantocracy from the island government, which had been for so long—ever since freedom came—the chief hindrance to missionary work and the chief obstacle to the general progress of the coloured population. Immediately after the revolt the House of Assembly ceased to exist, and was replaced by a system of Crown Government, which, with the addition of a certain number of elected members, prevails to the present time. Capable and fair-minded men, sent out in succession from the Homeland, represent the Sovereign power of the King, and are assisted by colleagues nominated by the Crown, or elected by the inhabitants of each parish. The relief to Church work, when the Members of the Government are not tempted by personal interest to oppose its progress, is very great, and in the contrast presented by our happier circumstances, we must the more respect and admire the courage and persistence of those earlier workers who carried on God's work against such odds.

Another event soon following the revolt, and due to that same spirit of reform which the sadness of that time engendered, was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Episcopal Church in Jamaica. Up to that time the clergy and institutions of the State Church had received support from the island funds in the same way in which the Established Church is maintained as a national institution in England, but in 1870 complete disestablishment was decided upon. Henceforth the Episcopal Church had to be supported by its own funds and the contributions of its adherents, just as is the case with Wesleyan or Baptists. The law framed to regulate the standing of the Bishop and his clergy in Jamaica was framed very much on the principle of the laws adopted in Canada and in Ireland. In fairness to the then clergy in charge of Island Churches, these were

to continue to receive their incomes so long as in office. In the forty years and more that have followed this Act almost all of the Island curates, as they were called, have passed away.

There was a third reform, which must be mentioned here because of its connection with Church life, although it will find its proper place in the chapter on education. Hitherto, although our Baptist workers, like those of other societies, had been the founders and supporters of day-schools for the peasantry—and without these the bulk of the children would have grown up without any school education at all—the judgment of the Baptist Union had gone strongly against the acceptance of any aid from State funds, even for the support of ordinary secular education. Baptist missionaries, such as Burchell and Phillippo, had built school-houses, trained and employed native teachers, and systematically taught the three R's to multitudes of little black children, thus doing what was undoubtedly important public work, at their own risk, getting from the parents such fees as could be collected, and making up the rest of the cost by voluntary contributions from friends, and not infrequently out of their own pockets. The letters of the early missionaries to the Missionary Secretary and other friends show only too clearly how heavy a burden the support of these schools was, and what a constant source of toil, worry, and anxiety. One writes, for instance: "I am about £2,000 in debt, and do not see yet how to meet this amount, but cannot lessen my school work nor even refrain from extending it; it is so necessary for the uplifting of the people, and so full of promise."

Under an intelligent Governor, tempting offers had been made to our brethren to accept financial help, which would have greatly eased this burden; but it was so difficult to define assistance for secular education in such a way as should completely distinguish it from a State endowment for religious work, necessarily involving some measure of State control over missionary efforts, that it was thought best by

the brethren in council to decline it altogether. In 1867, however, under the reformed Government, a system of grants in aid was introduced with which, after careful consideration, the Nonconformist missionaries were able to agree. Gardener's "History of Jamaica" says of this transaction: "In 1867 there were three hundred and seventy-nine elementary schools in the island, mostly under the superintendence and management of clergymen and missionaries; two hundred and twenty-six of these received aid from the Government. Nearly half were connected with the Established Church, for a very considerable number of Nonconforming ministers had persistently refused to accept Government aid. Nor was it until they were convinced that there was no intention whatever to interfere with the religious education imparted, and that the amount of aid would be regulated solely by the attainments of the children in secular subjects, irrespective of denominational distinctions, that they gradually fell in with the plan."

A last result of very great interest was the extension of our work into the seat of the rebellion itself—the parish of St. Thomas. In earlier years, through the intense hostility of the planter magistrates, the east end of the island had remained closed to missionary effort, and one may well suspect that this was one of the reasons why the relations between employers and employed were strained to the breaking-point in this particular parish. After the revolt, Sir Henry Storks, head of the special Commission, on his return to England, urged upon Dr. Underhill the importance of opening Mission stations in this neglected region. In March, 1866, Mr. Phillippo and Mr. Thomas Lea were sent out as a deputation by the Baptist Union, and spent ten days exploring the scene of the late rebellion. They saw sad signs of the devastation occasioned by the outbreak, and its suppression, and heard sad tales of ruin and bereavement from the sufferers. Especially melancholy was it to visit hamlets where the houses had been burnt down, women and children

wounded by stray bullets, and there were hardly any men left. Everywhere the stricken survivors welcomed most gratefully the Union's proposal to build chapels and establish religious work in their midst. The deputation's report having been sent to England, the Committee voted a sum of money to establish stations in and around Morant Bay itself, and to maintain them for three years, a period afterwards extended to seven. Very soon the Rev. William Teall, at the request of the Committee, left his loved people at the far west of the island, and took in hand this pioneer work in the extreme east. With great success he built chapels, gathered Churches, and set up schools at Morant Bay, Monklands, and elsewhere, and at the present time the work he began is being extended by able hard-working pastors, who are gradually winning "dark St. Thomas" for the Kingdom of Light. Two features of this section of the work have made it specially hard: One is the neglected and backward state in which the bulk of the population lived in comparison with more favoured parts of the island; another is the presence of workers of that sect, whose origin is probably due to negro immigrants from America, and which is known as the Native Baptist Church. Some of these Churches are communities of earnest hard-working people of the labouring class, supporting their own pastor, who, in many cases, is not a college-trained man; but others are discreditable and unworthy, and should more properly be called fanatic than Baptist—Churches where morality is not insisted upon as a *sine qua non* for membership, and much religious hysteria and crude African superstition mingle with the worship and practices of the members. It is aggravating at times to hear all these spoken of as Baptists, as if forming one company or denomination with ourselves. In an earlier paragraph in this book the essential differences have been clearly set forth. One is thankful to report that gradually native Baptist Churches in St. Thomas, that have the root of the matter in them, are being absorbed or taken into fellowship under our

trained Baptist workers. From the others members occasionally come who are dissatisfied with the mere travesty of Christian worship, and anxious for the better way.

In the year 1867, the year after the revolt, the statistics presented at the Baptist Union showed 78 Churches in membership. Of these 6 were then pastorless, the remaining 72 being under the care of 32 pastors. The total membership was 16,218. In 1868 the following comparative statement was presented of the progress, or otherwise, of the Churches since the reaction and depression which followed the great revival: "In 1864 there was an average decrease in each of the reported Churches of 24 members. In 1865 it was 25; in 1866 it was 16; and in 1867 the decrease had shrunk to 3. How do matters now stand with regard to 1868? We rejoice to report that instead of a decrease there has been an increase. The returns received from 77 out of 80 of our Churches are as follows: Losses, by death, 394; by exclusion, 627; by dismissal, 214; by withdrawal, 35; erased from the Church books, 129; total losses, 1,399. Additions: by baptism, 664; by restoration, 648; received from other Churches, 378; total additions, 1,690, making a net gain of 291. Moreover, of the reported losses, 186 were members drafted off from Savanna-la-Mar Church to form a new Church at Sutcliffe Mount, not yet received into the Union. Deducting this number from the total losses, the net gain for the year becomes 477, which gives an average gain of 6 members per Church for the 77 Churches reported upon." The same report gives the number of inquirers as 1,606, after striking off the roll those who by carelessness or inconsistency could not be considered as being in earnest in the matter. Commenting on this report, the unpublished chronicle says: "Thus the dark night of spiritual depression gave way to a bright morning of hope and joy, which continued with the Churches and the brethren in charge of them for many succeeding years."

Released at last from the disadvantages of hostile legis-

lation and commercial depression, the Baptists in Jamaica found time to examine their buildings with a view to necessary repairs. The Chairman for 1868, the Rev. E. Hewett, urged upon pastors and delegates the importance of repairing and improving the chapels, manses, schools, and class-houses belonging to the denomination. Let them remember that these properties were theirs, according to the trust deeds under which they were settled, for the purposes of God's work in Jamaica. Let all the Churches be both open-handed and united in efforts to put all the Baptist premises into creditable condition. A special committee was appointed, with the Rev. C. E. Randall as chairman, to prepare a building scheme for the guidance of the Churches, and we find in the recommendations of this committee the following cautious resolution: "That the existing rules to govern chapel cases, as printed in the manual, be adhered to, and that none but recommended cases shall be aided by the Churches." Under the stimulus thus given to building and repairing a new start was made. Thousands of pounds were raised by the people and expended on their Church premises, and the zeal thus shown has been continued by many of our Churches to the present time.

From this year, 1868, commenced the steady uninterrupted labour in Church work which, to a large extent, has resulted in progress in all departments of the Baptist Mission year by year. In the year 1870, for example, at the annual meeting held in Kingston, ten new Churches applied for admission into the Union, and the baptisms rose to 1,260. The same year brought the added relief to the Baptist and the other Free Churches in the island of their being placed on a footing of complete equality with the hitherto State-endowed Episcopal Church. The two resolutions of the Union upon this matter give so vivid a picture of that event in its historical setting that they may suitably be quoted in full.

Resolved—I. "That the attention of the members of this

Board having been called to the fact that since their last annual meeting the Episcopal Church in this Colony has been disestablished and disendowed, they now record the pleasure they feel in witnessing the termination of a contest in which they, in a constitutional manner, have been engaged during a period of twenty-six years, a contest publicly commenced in a petition to the late House of Assembly in the year 1843, when sentiments were cherished and language was used against the petitioners of the most unjustifiable character. Conscious, however, of the rectitude of their motives and conduct, and in spite of misrepresentations and calumnies, they persevered in the use of legitimate means, and now have the satisfaction of knowing that they and their people are not only regarded as peaceable, obedient, and loyal subjects, but they are rewarded in seeing their efforts crowned with success in the disestablishment and disendowment of the hitherto State-aided Church."

II. "That the members of this Board rejoice to know that the views and sentiments they have ever entertained (the holding of which was preferred against them as a grave offence at the Colonial Office) are now cherished and advocated by the most enlightened and eminent statesmen that perhaps Great Britain ever produced, as may be seen in the measure of justice on this subject dealt out toward Ireland; and they now rejoice that under these statesmen, and with Sir J. P. Grant as Governor, the question of the severance of Church and State is for ever settled. That the grateful thanks of this Board are most respectfully tendered to the Right Honourable the Earl of Granville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the other members of Her Majesty's Government in Great Britain; also to His Excellency Sir J. P. Grant, Governor of this island, for the great blessing which this act of justice will confer on Her Majesty's subjects in this Colony, and which they believe will promote harmony and the best interests of true religion."

In view of the crowded congregations and the increase in

the number of chapels the question of ministerial supply again became urgent, and the Union, on the resolution of the Rev. G. E. Henderson, sent an appeal through the Baptist Missionary Society to friends in England for £4,000 to assist the extension work, and for two or more ministers from the Homeland. The appeal seems to have been justified by the statistics of 1871, which showed 11 additional Churches received into the Union, with 1,028 members and 169 inquirers. Total number of Churches, 95. The finance return showed that the people themselves had contributed during the year £1,952 for repair and building work, while from outside £2,575 had been received for the same purpose. The appeal was generously responded to. About £2,000 was raised, and the Home Society undertook to select and send out additional workers, two of whom they would support for a limited number of years. Mr. T. L. Rees, the first of these, arrived in 1871; and Mr. Philip Williams came the next year, in which year also Mr. J. E. Gummer came from Demerara, and joined the Mission.

The last effort of this period of the Jamaica Mission's history, which must be to all sympathetic readers a welcome relief from the struggle and depression of earlier years, was to induce the Government, who had just issued a most favourable report as to the finances of the island, to spend their surplus in three directions: Extended elementary education for the children of all classes in Jamaica; a better method for the registration of marriages, births, and deaths, so that as in other parts of the Empire the birth, the death, and the marriage union of any British subject in the island, coloured or European, should be legally recorded; the construction and repair of the roads and bridges. The wording of the resolution on this last matter gives a picture of the times: "We urge upon the Government the exceeding importance of spending such an amount of public funds as will put into a good state of repair the second- and third-class roads in the interior, over which the masses of the

people travel both to church and market. It is our opinion that the produce grown in the mountains becomes much deteriorated in value, and that education, civilization, morals, and religion are at present hindered in their operation for want of better roads and bridges." The chronicle adds: "The present generation have no idea of the kind of mountain tracks and river fords that their fathers and mothers had to trudge over as best they could."

(3) *Calm and Storm*.—We have seen how, when set politically and socially free to do its appointed work, with a fair field and no favour, the Baptist Mission in Jamaica steadily strengthened and spread so that the Annual Reports for 1871-72 were favourable and encouraging. In fact, a religious awakening passed over the Churches; not, however, demonstrative and even violent like the Revival of 1861, but calm and gradual; a summer rain, not a deluge; a day-dawn, not a flash of lightning. There seems to have been no wild rushing of excited crowds to the sanctuaries, no hysteria, no convulsions; but men and women, stricken in their consciences by the Spirit of God, sought salvation through Jesus Christ, and the young people, just reaching manhood and womanhood, sat at the feet of the Saviour, and there learnt to choose the better part which cannot be taken away. Such an awakening as this makes happy times for pastor, officers, and people in a free and independent Church. Conscientious of Divine guidance, and untrammelled by the rules and traditions of some mere human authority, they just go as they are led, and they prosper, and it is well with them. Such times, however, like all events and periods of earthly life, are of uncertain duration: the powers of evil operating from without, or, alas! from within, succeed at length in staying the prosperity and disturbing the peace.

Thus in the Report for 1874 we read of spiritual decline. Severe droughts in some districts and epidemics of disease in others disabled the people from coming to service, and the spirit of fanaticism took possession of those who stayed

away, substituting the disorder, excitement, and animalism of a pagan orgy for united prayer and praise and the study of God's Word. To combat this inroad of evil the Union determined on a week of united prayer, and the programme of those services shows how unchanged have been the pros and cons of Christian Church life from the Jerusalem days to the present time.

" 'Tis the repeated tale
Of sin and weariness ;
Of grace and love yet flowing down
To pardon and to bless."

Sermons were preached on a "Revival of Religion in the Soul: What is it?" and prayer was offered for the outpouring of the Spirit, for power to accompany the preached word, for ministers, Church workers, members and inquirers, backsliders, and, not least, for parents and children of the families attending service. The chronicle adds, as if it were part of the answer to these prayers: "In this year five Churches were added to the Union." An event of another kind but equally favourable as a sign was this: The English Missionary Society being anxious to extend their work in the Bahama Islands, 500 miles north of Jamaica, selected a Jamaica pastor, Mr. W. N. Brown, a native, and trained at the Baptist College, to be their missionary at Nassau, New Providence, Bahamas. When we come to the story of the educational work of our Mission, other instances will be given of Jamaica-trained workers selected for special service.

The year 1873 was marked by a movement of much importance in consolidating Baptist work in the island. After much correspondence and careful consideration both in England and Jamaica the Home Society succeeded in getting many of the various Baptist Mission premises in Jamaica brought under the operation of a suitable Trust Law, thereby securing the use of these premises for all generations of worshippers for the purpose for which they were intended, and putting an effectual stop to the disturbances and

divisions of past times, as to the exact ownership of the land or buildings that constituted the Mission premises. By the help of the Home Society the brethren secured the passing of an Act by the Island Legislature entitled "The Baptist Missionary Society's Trust Law," and the heavy cost of this was met by the English Society.

The years 1876-77 initiated another method of assisting the Jamaica Mission, which has been made use of many times since. Mr. Taylor, an evangelist, visited Jamaica, and held special services from place to place. The visit of the stranger excited interest, the new voice was listened to attentively, and the pastors and officers of the Churches visited saw with delight the quickened religious life inside the Church, and the large numbers of young people brought into the inquirers' classes. Another marked result of the good evangelist's visit was a large number of marriages, chiefly between people who had been living together without the sanction of the law. This practice—unwedded union—a direct heritage from slavery days, has long been a scourge and a curse in the West Indies, and a sore hindrance to Church life and service. Scores of men and women thus living are reputed to be faithful to each other though not made husband and wife by law. Many of them attend service regularly and send their children to day and Sunday schools; but the lack of sanction, both Divine and human, to their relationship excludes them from membership, and shuts them off from the Lord's Table, and their example in the neighbourhood is exceedingly harmful in seeming to sanction loose living among the young people. The Baptist chronicle adds: "Much of the fruit of Mr. Taylor's evangelistic efforts remains to this day." In 1876, Mr. G. E. Henderson, son of the Rev. G. R. Henderson, became pastor at Brownstown, and has given full proof of a wide ministry until this day.

At the close of December, 1878, the number of Churches in the Union was 117, of which 98 sent in returns showing a



REV. J. KINGDON.



REV. T. L. WEBSTER.

PASTORS OF BAPTIST CHURCHES, JAMAICA.



REV. W. PRATT, M.A.

total membership of 21,856, and inquirers 3,310. The baptisms for the year were more than for some years past, showing a total of 1,827. The total gains for the year were 9,690; the net gain after deducting losses, 1,095.

Good times continued for some while to gladden the hearts of our Baptist workers. Thus at the Annual Meeting in 1879 the following resolution was thankfully adopted: "That this Board has heard with much gladness and satisfaction the written and verbal reports of the Churches in connection with the Jamaica Baptist Union, indicating a degree of spiritual life and activity that has resulted in the conversion and baptism of nearly 2,000 persons and the gathering of three to four thousand young people into the inquirers' classes. We also wish to express our thankfulness that the congregations are large, and said to be increasing in almost every district where there are places of worship in which the Divine Word has been faithfully preached."

The years 1879-80 were marked by the removal by death, in quick succession, of several of the Fathers of the Mission—veterans who had borne for long the burden and the heat of the day. There were three of these, the years of whose active service added together made 149 years, very nearly an average of fifty years apiece: James Reid, of Montego Bay First Church; James Mursell Phillippo, and John Clarke, of Jericho. Mr. Phillippo's length of service was fifty-six years: he was one of the first of slave-time missionaries. Mr. Clarke, beside doing fine pastoral work in Jamaica, was one of the pioneer missionaries from Jamaica to Africa in 1840, of which expedition an account will be given in the chapter on Missionary Work. Mr. Reid, an accomplished scholar, had charge of the big chapel at Montego Bay, which Mr. Burchell built to replace one which was burnt down by the slavery party in 1832.

But while saddened by losing these veteran workers, the Baptist Church in Jamaica had the joy of receiving new workers, some of whom have laboured long and, under God's

blessing, done good service. In 1878, Messrs. Edward Jesse Hewett and A. G. Kirkham came to Jamaica; and in 1879 Messrs. J. J. Kendon and W. D. Henderson. Of these Mr. Hewett, son of Mr. Edward Hewett of Mount Carey, and grandson of Mr. Burchell, has but lately passed from us, leaving a memory in the hearts of his people which will not pass. Born in Jamaica, and well acquainted with the actual condition, social and moral, of the black population, he was known and loved in all the Churches. Mr. Kirkham still holds, as he has done for several decades, a scattered and difficult circuit on the great South-West Sugar Plain that surrounds Savanna-la-Mar. Mr. Kendon, called home some ten years ago, carried on and extended through many laborious years the work of the Mission at Jericho. Mr. W. D. Henderson, son of Rev. G. R. Henderson, is in full service at Oracabessa in the north-west of the island.

The year 1880, though one of spiritual prosperity for the Churches, was made calamitous by a terrific cyclone which swept over the greater part of the island in the middle of August, throwing down nearly 9,000 houses of various kinds, injuring 6,800 people, and destroying all kinds of crops from more than 14,000 acres of cultivated land. As is always the case in these West Indian whirlwinds, several of our chapels and other church buildings went down or were badly damaged. Disaster of this kind falls with special severity on the pastor and people of a self-supporting Church in the West Indies. Most of the members being of the peasant class, it has not been possible to accumulate any considerable central fund from which to meet this kind of emergency; and the members, however zealous and willing, can neither replace the fallen buildings nor for the time being support their own pastor, their own cottages and provision grounds having been destroyed or seriously damaged by the same hurricane that unroofed the chapel. Being self-supporting, moreover, neither people nor pastor has any claim on the funds of the Society at home. In such an emergency—and

there have been three of them in Jamaica within the last ten years—the chief resource is an appeal to the charity and goodwill of the Baptist Churches in England. On this occasion they contributed a considerable amount of money, through the Baptist Missionary Society, which was entrusted to the Rev. D. J. East for disbursement at his discretion.

The report for the year 1881, which must end this section, tells of the reception of seven new pastors into the ranks of the Baptist Union: Mr. Charles Brown, from Scotland, for some years minister at Montego Bay, and for much longer the pastor of a self-supporting Church at Belize, British Honduras, Central America; Mr. George House, whose chief ministry was at St. Ann's Bay, and who is now in the States; Mr. T. Gould, of Clarksonville; Mr. P. F. Schoburgh, one of the best known of the Jamaica-born pastors, trained at Calabar College; and Messrs. R. R. James and James H. Gayle, also trained at Calabar—of whom several have since "fallen on sleep."

The manuscript chronicle says: "The report of the Churches for this year was perhaps the most satisfactory received up to that date. There were baptized as many as 2,394 persons, while on the inquirers' roll there had been during the year the names of 4,446 young people. Congregations were large, in some cases overflowing, and new Churches were being formed and housed. Ministers and their helpers were energetic in holding evangelistic services in chapel and class-house, preaching in the open air, and visiting from house to house." The chronicle, written some ten years ago, adds: "All these efforts were instrumental, under the Divine blessing, in producing a condition of religious life and activity in the Churches most devoutly to be wished for in the present cold, dull, and degenerate days."

(4) *Baptist Missionary Society Centenary and Visit of Third Deputation*.—The centenary of the year 1792, when at Kettering, in England, the Baptist Missionary Society was formed, was kept with much enthusiasm, not only in the

Homeland, but at the Foreign Mission centres, and could William Carey have come back to survey the work he began he would have had to journey from India, his first field, to China, Central Africa, and the West Indies, besides making a call in at Baptist stations in France and Italy.

In Jamaica itself the Centenary celebrations aroused much interest, and many were the expressions, from black men brought up in Christian civilization, of gratitude for the debt due to the Society, whose first missionaries helped to set free the slave. The young people of the Churches enjoyed the festivities, but, as was natural, were not much moved by their meaning; but the old people, who remembered slavery, were deeply moved, and full of reminiscences which they found "dis generation" not too willing to listen to. Jamaican Baptists gave offerings by way of thanksgiving, and the students at the Calabar College made a collection of their own.

A deputation was sent out from England, the third of its kind, one of whom, Mr. J. G. Greenhough, visited the isolated Baptist stations at Trinidad, Turks Islands, Puerto Plata (San Domingo), and Hayti, as well as making a longer stay in Jamaica. Between them, Mr. J. Bailey and Mr. Greenhough visited a considerable number of the Jamaica Mission stations, as well as the Bahama Islands, and had practical experience of the incidents common to Mission-house life—the long rough journeys, breaks-down by the way, delayed meals through failure of market supplies or the forgetfulness of a servant, the midday heat, the night noises, the lizard, the ant, the grass-lice, and the mosquito. Despite these disagreeable reminiscences, the report they gave of the progress of the Churches, under the more favourable conditions of Crown Government and just legislation, gave great delight to the Baptists in England, and helped to strengthen the ties of affection and interest between the Home Society and the self-supporting Jamaica Churches.

(5) *Emigration of Jamaicans.*—Throughout the decade from 1880 to 1890 the Baptist Churches were constantly weakened by the emigration of young male members, and sometimes of whole families, to other lands, and especially to Central America. In 1879 the French Panama Company was formed for connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. Agents with glowing prospectuses passed through the West Indies to collect labourers, to whom were offered high wages and many other advantages if they would enter the Company's service. They were not told how high the price of things would be, how rough and hard the housing and general conditions of living, or how the swamp of the proposed course, and the insanitary condition of the towns at each end made the canal zone a hotbed of fever. Nor were they told with what contempt and harshness the ordinary black labourers would be treated by their "bosses," still less how law-abiding self-respecting Jamaicans, members in good standing in our Churches, some of them class-leaders or deacons accustomed to chastity and sobriety, to read the Bible and to keep holy the Sabbath Day, would be expected to live the godless, intemperate life common on the zone, and the cruellest pressure be brought to bear on them to make them do this.

Thousands of our more vigorous men accepted this offer, and shipload after shipload was borne away south to Panama, too often leaving the cottage home with wife and children and old parents unprovided for. Hundreds of these men died in Panama, were buried off-hand as "Jamaica stiffs," without word being sent to their relatives in Jamaica; and our missionaries, especially in St. Thomas in the East, were constantly petitioned by distressed black women to find out whether father, husband, or son, who had gone to Panama, was yet alive.

The labourers who returned were strangely altered, both in morals and manners. Public life in some districts was visibly affected for the worse, especially perhaps in the

matter of manners. The failure of the Canal Company, in 1889, and the flocking back of numbers of Jamaican labourers without employment, was financially disastrous, but it was a good thing for the Jamaica Churches when the work on the canal shut down.

With the resumption of the work under the American Government in 1903 the emigration set in again, and again our Churches suffered the loss and inconvenience of their more enterprising young people going to Panama; but at the other end the labourers are very much better looked after, properly housed, cared for in sickness, and punctually paid. The wonderful hygienic enterprise of the United States' doctors and engineers has completely changed the health record of the canal zone, and while the two cities—Colon and Panama—which are only partially under America's control, are still centres of much moral evil, the locations along the canal course are well-ordered and healthy. Most of all to be commended, and surely worthy of record in this history of Christian enterprise, are the two grand rules: First, that no strong drink shall be used during working days on the canal; and, second, that no man shall be admitted into the Canal Commission's service who brings with him as his companion a woman to whom he has not been married.

(6) *The Cyclone of 1903.*—The Spanish Main seems to be the natural home, one might almost say the nursery, of that terrible phenomenon—the cyclone. The great spiral of whirling air, a hundred or more miles across, and spinning at the rate of two miles a minute, forms near the Equator, moves westward along the Caribbean, and too often, as it veers to the north, sweeps over one or other of the West Indian Islands. Of these whirlwinds Jamaica has of late years had her full share. The darkening sky, the eerie scream of the wind, the flying spray, the rushing pitiless rain, the veering of the wind with the curve of the column, the broken stormy weather that follows, making it so hard



CYCLONE WRECKAGE : MOUNT CAREY MISSION HOUSE.



CYCLONE WRECKAGE : SHORTWOOD CHURCH (OUTSIDE VIEW).



CYCLONE WRECKAGE : SHORTWOOD CHURCH (THE INTERIOR).

to repair the damaged house, are well-known experiences in an island which is normally so sunlit and balmy.

In 1903 a storm of this nature swept over Jamaica, striking the island at the north-east coast, which it devastated, sweeping over the fertile uplands of the centre, and only prevented by the high mountains from descending in full force upon Kingston and the south. In this cyclone the Baptist stations suffered severely—from Belle Castle in Portland to Refuge in Trelawney; and many places between these points felt the full force of the hurricane, and had chapels and manses unroofed or blown down; and equally disastrous to the progress of the Mission were the personal losses inflicted on hundreds of the Baptist Church members. The cottage was laid low, the palm or bread-fruit tree was broken down, the growing cane or corn or coffee crop lay battered and sodden. Thus, just when extra help was wanted from the members to rebuild the chapel or re-roof the manse, they were disabled from giving their ordinary Church subscriptions, and had to get help from Government in order to live.

In this emergency the Jamaica Mission again made an appeal to the Home Society. This has no fund from which to make a grant, nor could anything be drawn on this account from general revenue; but permission was given for two brethren to visit England and appeal to the Churches, with the sanction and recommendation of the Mission House, and collect what they could. Most years from one part or another of the far-extended spheres of the Home Society's work two or three special appeals from abroad are going the round of the Churches, and it is far from an easy problem how to adjust and control these special appeals, so as to give to each its chance of getting an adequate response without interfering with the collection of General Revenue, or vexing willing donors by a multiplication of clamorous claims.

Messrs. Ellis Fray and W. Pratt were sent to England by

the Jamaica Baptist Union. They had a kind reception, and their story aroused much sympathy, the more so as one of them, Mr. Fray, was the pastor of sorely stricken Churches. They collected upwards of £2,000, which was handed to the Executive Committee of the Union in Jamaica; by whom it was carefully disbursed among the stricken spheres in proportion to the loss sustained.

(7) *The Great Earthquake, 1907.*—Jamaica, like other West Indian Islands, has frequently been visited with earthquake shocks. Two or three times a year—in some districts oftener—there is a quivering vibration of the ground, at times accompanied by a subterranean rumbling. Usually these shocks do little damage beyond alarming the nervous; a wall may be cracked, an upright be made to lean, but that is all. History, however, shows that the earth beneath these islands covers fissures or caverns where at times the volcanic forces accumulate and may at any time break into violent action. Such was the earthquake of 1692 which destroyed Port Royal.

A terrific upheaval took place in Jamaica on the afternoon of January 14, 1907. Without any warning, the island quivered from end to end, and under Kingston the ground swayed and rocked almost like waves of the sea. Man's strongest works are nothing before the powers of Nature: "He looketh on the earth and it trembleth." Less than a minute of this violent rocking brought the strongest buildings of the city in ruins to the ground, and amid sinking roofs and falling walls some 1,400 people speedily lost their lives. It is not for this Baptist History to give the earthquake scenes in detail, except to record with pride and thankfulness that, in that awful hour of peril and of fate, when mere conventional action and civilization that is not real but assumed are thrown aside, and men act just as they really are in head and heart—in that dire emergency it was not the trained European only who showed courage, resourcefulness, and self-sacrifice; black men and women, descendants

of slaves, risked life and met death or maiming to save the lives of others, and there are some who go crippled for life, like British Chelsea pensioners, by reason of their efforts to rescue the perishing.

Again, as in the cyclone of 1903, our Jamaica Baptist Mission suffered severely. Some of our strongest buildings, as, for example, East Queen Street Chapel, were seriously damaged; others, like Hanover Street Chapel (also in Kingston), were completely thrown to the ground. The writer can never forget clambering cautiously in the moonlight over the ruins of the last-named sanctuary, where nothing seemed left in its proper place except the baptistery. Many Baptist members were injured in the earthquake, some were killed; and a great many more who keep shop, or serve among the stores, or teach, or do needlework, lost their trade along with their homesteads, and were left for the time destitute.

The Island Government, by means of a deputation to the Imperial Parliament, obtained grants and loans from which our Baptist people in Kingston and elsewhere received assistance for their temporal losses, but it was decided by the Legislative Council, with the entire approval, among other religious bodies, of the Jamaica Baptist Union, that Church buildings used solely for the purposes of religious work and worship should not receive this aid. It was left to each Christian Church or denomination to re-erect God's house and the minister's manse.

Again, as after the cyclone, a deputation went to England, and received much sympathy as he moved about among the Churches. The net total he was able to forward to Jamaica was £1,800. In this disaster none of our Baptist workers suffered more severely than the Rev. W. Pratt, M.A., who succeeded Mr. East in 1893 as pastor of our largest Kingston chapel. Mr. Pratt was struck down behind his manse by a falling wall, receiving injuries which have left him lame for life. He went to England for treatment, and, enabled by his

strong vitality and courage to regain general health and strength, to the great joy of his Jamaica comrades, he returned at the close of the year, and speedily resumed the duties of his large pastorates, as well as the many other functions, denominational and public, which he had previously discharged.

It may be fitly asked at this point, What effect, if any, do disasters such as these have upon the Church life? How do they affect the beliefs and the conduct of the members? Let the facts carefully considered give the reply. Financially, cyclone or earthquake is a very heavy blow to Church work. For a time the people can neither support the pastor nor meet the working expenses of the Church in the usual way. It also affects them badly by lessening the attendance at services. The people set much store on dressing neatly to attend God's house, and when unable to do this many of them stay away. This non-attendance works badly in three directions: spiritually, they miss the services and are the weaker for the want of them; they get out of touch with what is going on, and so lose interest; they also get into the habit, which all too readily becomes chronic and is sadly infectious, of spending the Lord's Day in idleness or frivolity instead of in His worship.

On the other hand, it is to be thankfully recorded that neither cyclone nor earthquake avail to shake the people's faith in God as a good God and doing all things well. The faith of some in Jamaica from more advanced races, or such faith as they had, gave way before the widespread ruin and suffering and loss of life; but not so the faith of that labouring population of African descent who form the bulk of our membership.

And if the members were trustful and patient before the "act of God," it was good to see how kind they were to one another. Whoever had a house standing shared it with his homeless neighbours. Men bore the brunt of danger in assisting women and children; and very thrilling was the



REV. W. HEAD,

(Secretary of Baptist Sunday School Society of Jamaica.)



THE LATE MR. T. B. STEPHENSON,

(Aided Native Schoolmaster.)



REV. PHILIP WILLIAMS,

(Secretary of Jamaica Baptist Union.)



EARTHQUAKE WRECKAGE: EAST QUEEN STREET BAPTIST CHAPEL AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE OF JANUARY, 1907.

scene, and of far more moral significance than the good folk themselves had any idea of, when Baptist Church members, cut, bruised, and in rags, came hurrying through the débris to the Mission premises to see if the chapel was standing and to know if "minister" and his family were safe.

A third result, which belongs especially to the earthquake time, was the awakening of the careless and the trifling to the solemn realities of life. Men who had felt the solid ground shake and seen their fellows suddenly done to death, were forced to face, at least for a time, the grave spiritual possibilities of man's life. A measure of revival followed the earthquake of 1907, and the statistics for the year showed the addition of some 5,000 to our membership. Some of these have fallen away again since, showing that it was terror, not a change of heart, that made them seek membership; but others have stood firm.

(8) *The Cyclone of 1912.* — Again, in November, 1912, the stormy wind swept Jamaica's hills and plains. A cyclone of unusual severity passed over the fertile west end of the island on Sunday and Monday, November 17 and 18. The wind reached the extraordinary rate of 160 miles an hour. The centre of the cyclone traversed the island from Savanna-la-Mar to Lucea, and the havoc it wrought reminds one of the prophet's description of the destroying army: "Before it is the garden of the Lord, and behind it a desolate wilderness." To us as a denomination this hurricane was particularly disastrous; it destroyed or damaged some of our largest chapels, and devastated the holdings of a peasantry, a very large proportion of whom are Baptist. Again a cry of distress went up from stricken Jamaicans, and their hands were held out, and rightly so, towards the Home Society and the Baptist community of England. This time, however, it was thought best by the English Committee to avoid the expense of a deputation coming from Jamaica and to make the appeal from the Mission House, assisted by the efforts of some former Jamaica workers now

residing in England. At the time of writing the relief fund has not got beyond £1,000, the sustentation scheme of the Baptist Union overshadowing for the time being all other claims. This circumstance, however, surely does not lessen the duty of Baptists in England to assist their stricken brethren in Jamaica any more than it lessens in the least the extent of the loss or the depth of the distress. "Bear ye one another's burdens," said our Master, "and so fulfil the law of Christ." This dire calamity among the Baptists in Jamaica—the third that has befallen them in the space of nine years—should be to all other Baptists an opportunity for showing obedience to that gracious command.

(9) *The Fourth Visit of a Deputation from England.*—In 1909 another deputation came from England to consult the brethren in Jamaica with regard to proposed alterations in the educational work at Calabar College, and especially to consider the possibility of securing united action with other evangelical bodies in the training of ministers for the Churches in the West Indies. By special request of the Home Committee this deputation included the Rev. C. E. Wilson, B.A., then the General Secretary of the Home Society, now Secretary of the Foreign Department, with whom was associated T. S. Penny, Esq., J.P., Chairman of the Western Committee, which handles the Baptist Missionary Society work in these islands. These gentlemen, like their predecessors, spent a month of the cold season in making a tour of the Churches in Jamaica, examining on the spot the problems connected with the college work, and having interviews with the leading brethren of sister denominations. They were privileged (!) to witness one of the heaviest rainfalls on record in the island, happily without harm to themselves. One specific good result of that visit has been mentioned in the chapter on education, namely, a definite proposal from the brethren of another denomination with a large membership, to unite with the Baptists in the important matter of the training of ministers.

In the year of the Centenary of our Jamaica Mission, for which this volume is being prepared, it is expected, and earnestly hoped in Jamaica, that a strong deputation will come over from Great Britain to share in the thanksgiving of the Jamaica Baptist Mission for a hundred years of Christian life and service.

CHAPTER IV

THE JAMAICA BAPTIST UNION

I. FORMATION AND EARLY HISTORY.

II. THE "J.B.U." AS A FACTOR IN BAPTIST CHURCH LIFE.

Gives the Churches a Corporate Existence.
Forms Means of Contact and Co-operation.
Places the Wisdom of the Ablest at the Service of Each and All.
Provides a Channel for the Distribution of Funds and Forces.

III. AUXILIARIES OF THE J.B.U. IN BAPTIST CHURCH LIFE.

The Baptist Sunday-School Society.
The Christian Endeavour Society.
The Monthly Magazine.

IV. THE J.B.U. IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF JAMAICA.

In Personal and Domestic Life it urges as obligatory on all Classes Chastity, Respect for Marriage, and the Moral Training of Children.
In Political Life, Freedom of Conscience, Religious Equality, Legislation without Racial or Class Distinction, Educational Advantages for all Jamaica Children.

V. ATTITUDE AND ACTION OF THE J.B.U. ON CERTAIN PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

Denominational Teaching in Day-Schools.
The Endowed Schools of the Island.

The Importation of Indentured East Indian Labourers.

The Drink Traffic.

Laws respecting Gambling.

The Suppression of Vice.

I

FORMATION AND EARLY HISTORY

The first Missionaries sent to Jamaica took their orders from England, and were towards each other independent agents or comrades in the same service. Necessarily, however, as their number increased, they formed themselves into a kind of association or union, and began to meet periodically to discuss the state of the business and arrange plans. Thus, after the burning down of the chapels in 1832, we find the missionaries meeting in assembly at Spanish Town and appointing Messrs. Abbot and Knibb to go home as a deputation. The letters and other records of those early days show that as the Mission stations spread to the farther parts of the island two associations, or unions, were formed: the brethren of Eastern Jamaica from Spanish Town to Yallahs belonged to the Eastern Union; while those of Falmouth, Brownstown, Montego Bay, Savanna-la-Mar, etc., composed the Western Union. The two branches appear to have met annually at what came to be called the Annual Association, now known among us as the Annual Meetings.

The Western Union, numbering among its members such leaders as Burchell and Knibb, appears to have been the stronger of the two, and its name appears oftener in the reports of meetings, etc. Again, as all combinations of men tend to acquire a character and policy of their own, so the Western Baptist Union would seem to have been the Radical section of the denomination, while the Eastern was Moderate or Conservative. The two sections were at one in fighting slavery, welcoming freedom, and forming townships of freed labourers; but when, in 1842, William Knibb and his brethren

proposed the principle of independence or self-support, this was opposed by Mr. Phillippo and other brethren of the east. In letters of about this date to friends on the English Committee, Mr. Phillippo makes almost bitter reference to "not being in the secrets of the Western Union," and deprecates the Committee at home recognizing that Union and the Annual Association as having any authority over the action of individual pastors and Churches.

In 1845 we find the Western Union assembled at Mount Carey appointing a kind of Executive or Committee of Management to regulate pastoral appointments and change of spheres, and in the record of this meeting no mention is made of an Eastern Union; and it was this Western Union that arranged for the collection of statistics year by year to be sent home for information to the English Committee. Finally, in 1854, at the Annual Meeting at Falmouth, when twenty-one pastors were present, Mr. Phillippo himself gave notice that at the next Annual Meeting he would move that "the word 'Western,' now employed as one of the distinguishing characteristics of our Union, be deleted, and that the word 'Jamaica' be put in its place so as to include in the membership the Churches of the whole island." This resolution was unanimously adopted next year at Spanish Town, and thenceforward the designation of the Union became the Jamaica Baptist Union, referred to (amongst us) as the "J.B.U." From that time, 1854, up to the present, the J.B.U., with varying fortunes, has had a continuous existence and been a real factor—a power to be reckoned with in the story of our Jamaica Baptist Mission. Some of the ablest and most influential of our brethren have held the position of Secretary, notably Mr. Benjamin Millard and the present Secretary, Mr. Philip Williams. All the brethren who have held this office have been ministers in full service, usually with large Churches under their charge and many schools.

With the development of the Mission the internal organi-

zation of the Union has developed, and it includes now an Executive, a Council, and a Sunday-school Committee.

Not all the Baptist Churches or Baptist ministers of Jamaica belong to the Union ; both are admitted by vote on their own application. In accordance with Free Church principles the membership is voluntary, the Union having no real power except to "withdraw," as the expression is, from any Church or minister that shows unworthiness or will not abide by the rules of membership. Subscriptions for the work of the Union are asked and expected, but the Union has no control over the money of individual Churches nor any voice, except that of counsel and admonition, in respect to the pastor's salary. All readers acquainted with the Baptist Churches in England and the larger Colonies will recognize as familiar the principles of management here stated.

If any change can be traced in the relation of the Union to its members in the progress of years it would seem to be this : that in 1842, when the Churches were fewer the Union, by consent of its members, exercised a greater control over the appointment, transference, and removal of pastors than is now the case. It should be noticed, however, that whatever control it had, or has, has always been what was voluntarily agreed to by Church or minister on accepting membership.

II

THE "J.B.U." AS A FACTOR IN BAPTIST CHURCH LIFE

That the Union has been a real factor in this sphere the story of our Churches abundantly shows. It has given them for one thing a corporate existence : a living body capable of speech and action. Whenever necessary our Baptist Churches, by means of the Union, can make a public proclamation of religious principle, can communicate with other religious bodies, can appeal to their brethren in England, or to the Island Government, or to the English

Parliament. Union in these matters is strength. There have been times when it has been the salvation of our work as a denomination in Jamaica. It is greatly to be desired that all our brethren should recognize the value of this corporate existence, and by their loyal co-operation cause the whole body to be firmly knit together. Need it be added, that the Head of this body, as of all unions of truly Christian Churches, is Christ. His Word, to the best of our understanding of it, is our law; His presence is earnestly sought at every meeting, and His blessing alone can make the work of the Union of any real good. "Severed from Him we can do nothing."

Another benefit of the Union is as a means of contact for Churches and Church workers. Some of our Baptist chapels in Jamaica are in remote places, perhaps cut off from fellowship with their neighbours by the difficulties of mountain steeps and unbridged rivers. Some ministers, again, in their ordinary rounds of work live lives far lonelier than any casual visitor would suppose possible. It means much to the minister and the delegates who represent the Church, that at the Union Meetings they have several days' intercourse with brother ministers and delegates.

The Union, again, is of value in that it places the wisdom of the ablest workers at the service of each and all. In such matters as the choice of a pastor, the enlargement or repair of a chapel, the extension of the work over a fresh district, many a young pastor and many a Deacons' Board would make fewer mistakes, and be saved from much waste of money, much disappointment and heartache, if they would take counsel by means of the Union with brethren experienced and successful in handling these problems.

The Union also provides a channel for the application of its forces and the distribution of funds. The strong can thus aid the weak, and the sorrow of any one member gets comfort from all the rest. In the earlier rougher times, if illegal action was taken by the House of Assembly, or some

Government official, against Church services, or Church property, or the opening of a school, the oppressed did not have to fight his battle alone; and the same concentration of forces and funds is possible now when it is wanted. Again, when some one district has been desolated by the forces of Nature, by drought, flood, cyclone, or earthquake, by means of the Union the Churches round about are able to send help "to the poor saints which are at Jerusalem."

III

AUXILIARIES OF THE J.B.U. IN BAPTIST CHURCH LIFE

And here may, perhaps, be the most appropriate point at which to mention certain auxiliaries of the Union which have to do with the development of Church life from within. Foremost is the Baptist Sunday-School Society, which brings the different Sunday-schools of our Baptist Churches into touch with one another, provides lesson notes to help the teachers, and periodical examinations to test and encourage the scholars. For many years the Rev. William Head, of Cave Valley, has been the Secretary and moving spirit of this part of the good work. It is greatly to be desired that all our Sunday-schools should make as full use of this Society as possible, especially, perhaps, in trying to get books, lesson notes, topic-pictures, and teachers' preparation classes. The Sunday-school is the nursery of the Church, and while an increasing number of the children of our members learn the three R's at day-school, it is at the Sunday-school, if anywhere, they will learn that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom, and lay hold on that better part which cannot be taken away from them.

The Christian Endeavour Societies are not organically a part of the Union, but, like the Sunday-school, they are a valuable auxiliary. The Christian Endeavour movement has taken strong hold upon the young people, and carefully

directed—for this is essential—has shown itself able to turn young disciples from mere hearers of the Word into doers. Should it only get them into the habit of systematically reading the Bible, and attending and strengthening the public services of the Church, it will have accomplished much.

The monthly paper—the *Jamaica Baptist Reporter*—might rightly claim mention here as being the means of conveying the messages of the Union to the Churches in membership; but this had better be deferred for the chapter on our missionary work, as it is through our Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society that the *Baptist Reporter* is maintained.

IV

THE J.B.U. IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF JAMAICA

Slavery left to the people a sad heritage of evil, but perhaps nothing has done, and is doing, more harm than popular indifference to the sins of the flesh, and popular disregard for the necessity and sanctity of the marriage bond. Nor is it among the negro labourers only that this wrong thing prevails, but just as in earlier times the sugar estate headman, book-keeper, overseer, and attorney thought no more of this sin than the imported African slave, so through all classes of society outside the estates there has been a prevalence of the same loose notion. Hence the Churches of Christ in their attitude towards the island life have had to take a strong stand, and speak with no uncertain sound with regard to the duty before God of personal chastity, respect for marriage, and the importance to the children of home-life of which father and mother have no cause to be ashamed. On these matters no Christian body has taken a stronger stand than our Baptist Union. The person convicted of unchastity is not permitted to remain in membership in any Baptist Church; nor can he or she receive the right hand of fellowship again, or sit at the Lord's Table, until some

months of probation have emphasized before the other members, the heinousness of this sin, and tested the reality of the sinner's repentance.

The Union also made its solemn public protest against indifference to this evil among the moneyed and ruling classes, when, in 1862, it petitioned Governor Eyre not to give responsible appointments to men, however capable or influential, who were known to be men of loose life.

In the sphere of island politics the Baptist Union has ever insisted upon the individual's right to absolute freedom of conscience. No pressure must be brought upon him, no unfair temptation displayed to induce him to worship this way or that, or to do what his conscience forbids him to do. The impact of the law must be without distinction of class or race, and in the direction of morality and sobriety. Laws have been made in Jamaica that disgraced the Statute Book, yet only failed to come into operation through being disallowed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Against these laws the Union has ever lifted up its voice, though at times it has been but a voice crying in the wilderness.

In the sphere of Education the Union has advocated education for all children independently of the colour, creed, "caste," or condition of the parents.

Special interest attaches to the—

V

ATTITUDE AND ACTION OF THE J.B.U ON CERTAIN PUBLIC QUESTIONS

Denominational Teaching in Day-Schools.—The Baptist Union has insisted that Government-granted money ought not to be used for this purpose, and for many years, up to 1866, the Baptist managers of schools refused all money grants from the Government because they included, or were used as including, assistance in denominational teaching.

Endowed Schools.—Several of these in Jamaica, founded

on ancient bequests, were for many years regarded as being the special property or under the exclusive management of the Established Church. It is due to the untiring research and dogged determination of a few Free Churchmen, and not least of the Secretary of the J.B.U., the Rev. Philip Williams, that these valuable institutions have been rescued from exclusive usurpation, and become again the channels of public good which the framers of the bequests intended them to be.

Coolie Immigration.—A year or two after Freedom came the pro-Slavery planters, having been foiled in their attempt to make the freed labourers *de facto* slaves by forcing them to accept unjustly low wages under threat of being driven out homeless from the hovels they had occupied as slaves, tried next to supplant them, and leave them workless and wageless, by importing East Indian labourers from Calcutta. The plea was that the freed men's labour was no longer reliable now that it had ceased to be compulsory, and thus the work on the sugar estates, the staple industry of the island, was threatened with collapse. The reply of the earlier missionaries was that, given proper wages, black labour in plenty was available, and would be gladly given; but the reply was discarded, and the House of Assembly, composed chiefly of estate owners, taxed beyond reason the labourers' cottages, tools, and provision-ground materials, and spent the money in importing the brown "coolies" on five years' indenture, whose services would be completely at the command of the planter who hired them from Government. Year after year, as the estates went down and poverty increased, the missionaries protested against sugar planters being supplied with foreign labour at the expense of general revenue. The method employed was modified more than once, a larger proportion of cost was thrown on the planter, a public protector speaking the Nagri tongue was appointed to look after the Indian immigrants; but the Baptist Union, voiced by its Secretary, ceased not from

protest and appeal until about three years ago from the present date, the Government grant for the importation of East Indians was abolished, and the planters who required such labourers were made liable to pay the whole cost of their introduction and repatriation. The island revenue is still charged with the cost of the Protective Department, and of medical attendance for the indentured coolies.

The Drink Traffic.—Time was when sugar and rum were the chief commodities produced in Jamaica for exportation. For many years past the banana-tree has been ousting the sugar-cane. The old estate has been thrown up, and instead of being left to become ruinate, it has been planted with bananas, and few sights in the green island are pleasanter to the eye, or more welcome to the heart, of the lover of Jamaica than the well-ordered banana plantation with the broad-leafed trees in rows twenty feet apart, and perhaps the dark-leafed chocolate plant midway between. There is, however, still a great deal of cane grown, from which a large quantity of rum is produced. This has caused incessant legislative combat between traders whose interest it is to push the rum traffic and missionaries who would discourage and suppress it. The Baptist Union has ever kept a watchful eye on the action, first of the House of Assembly, and, in later years, of the Legislative Council in this matter. It is hardly necessary to state in detail all the laws and regulations proposed by representatives of the drink interest, protested against by missionary bodies, modified or disguised, in a futile attempt to disarm the protest, and, finally, either withdrawn or disallowed by the Colonial Office in England. There are two points upon which the Baptist Union has firmly insisted. First, that it shall not be permissible for magistrates to grant a licence for the opening of a rum shop if the consensus of opinion in the neighbourhood is against it. Secondly, that no new rum shop shall be opened within a fixed distance of a Church or day school already in operation. These reforms have not yet been adopted.

Laws respecting Gambling.—It has been the earnest endeavour of the Baptist Union, as of other religious bodies, to discourage the habit of gambling, and especially to lessen the temptation to the young people of Jamaica to indulge in this vice. In general, though perhaps not very effectively, gambling has been forbidden by law, but by a strange legislative freak this prohibition is relaxed at Christmas, when, in all parts of Jamaica, games and methods of sale, based on gambling, proceed in public unchecked, like a weak imitation of Paris. The J.B.U. believing that gambling is an evil always, and everywhere, and in everybody, has sought to secure a uniform and universal enforcement of the provisions of the law against it, so that neither in respect to time or purpose or class shall there be any exemption.

The Suppression of Vice.—There is little on this subject that can advisedly be put into print. The shocking prevalence of animalism in the over-crowded yards of Jamaica towns, especially at the seaports, the effrontery with which this evil is paraded, and the gross unconcern with which its presence is regarded by the community, are deplored by all sections of the Church of Christ; but the most effective efforts to suppress the evil are those that are made individually and in private, with only the Master's eye looking on, and the consciousness of His approval as the all-sufficient support and reward. It is only when laws have been proposed tending to sanction this vice and safeguard its perpetrators that public action becomes advisable or useful. In every such case the Baptist Union has made its voice heard, and, thank God, not without some measure of success.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE JAMAICA BAPTIST MISSION

I. JAMAICA MISSIONARIES AS SCHOOL MANAGERS.

The Earliest Schools for Black Children.

Government Action in Successive Stages.

Grants in Aid and Part Payment of Teacher.

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II. BAPTIST EFFORTS AT HIGHER EDUCATION.

Early High Schools at Kingston and Spanish Town.

Calabar High School for Boys, East Queen Street.

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III. THE BAPTIST TRAINING COLLEGE, CALABAR.

The Story of its Commencement.

First Period, on North Coast. President Tinson.

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Honorary Service Behind the Scenes.

I

JAMAICA MISSIONARIES AS SCHOOL MANAGERS

When the early white settlers in the West Indies, finding the climate too hot to allow of white men being employed as labourers, began to kidnap the black inhabitants of Central Africa, and bring them to the island to be slaves, they had naturally no idea of giving the children of this weaker race education. The enterprise was strictly commercial, as it was also absolutely immoral. The human stock were brought to market just like horses, mules, and oxen, and like these were to be used solely for their owners' profit. It soon became the custom, however, because obviously economical, to give the more promising negro boys such technical training as would enable them to do the skilled labour of the estates; thus some were trained as carpenters and cabinet makers, some as coopers, and some as masons. Visitors to Jamaica to-day are surprised to see on the old thrown-up estates strong stone walls of excellent workmanship, whether cornered or circular, and when told that these were built by black men, they contrast this fine work with what they see being done to-day, and draw the inference that under slavery the negro worked better than he does as a free man. The facts, however, are these: A slave lad, being wholly his master's property, could be placed compulsorily under a skilled Scotch mason at such an age and for such hours as were best for turning him out by-and-by as a competent workman. Similar training to-day, were it practicable, would produce the same excellence.

But while, for their own purposes, estate owners taught these trades to carefully selected lads—some of the lasses meanwhile being similarly trained in domestic service—almost nothing was done to give either the grown-up slaves, or the growing children, any general training of such kind as renders any community civilized instead of savage. And

alas ! as we have seen, all the conditions of a slave's life on a sugar estate were against that higher training of head, heart, and spirit, which makes a good man instead of a bad one.

As in all such untaught communities, missionaries were the first schoolmasters. The "fathers" of the Mission, while they preached to the adult slaves and gathered converts into Churches, could not fail to see the importance of schooling for the children ; and, accordingly, wherever a Baptist Church became firmly established, an attempt was made to gather the children into a school. This was made difficult by the reluctance, or sometimes the contempt, of the slave-owners, and by the practice on so many estates of having a children's gang to work in the fields—that is to say, the black children that were old enough and strong enough were taken out to the plantations under the charge of one or two women and put to do whatever light work was within their strength. This compares in English history with the employment of little children from six years of age in factories and coal-mines until the practice was put a stop to by Act of Parliament through the intervention of "the good Lord Shaftesbury."

On the estates of Jamaica skill, kindness, and persistence gradually won their way, and numbers of surprised little children found themselves under the strange white school-master, who was so different from massa at the Great House, "learning book." The first schools would appear to have been day and Sunday school combined, much as was the case with the early Ragged Schools in England. Scripture was taught along with, and in illustration of, the three R's. The Bible, indeed, was the textbook for most of the teaching, as we are told it is to-day in so many of the schools at the Congo stations. Naturally one of the most pressing needs for these Mission schools was the trained teacher, and in the published lives of the early missionaries we have interesting accounts of their attempts to meet this need. Promising young men received partial training from the missionary

himself, and were then put in charge of schools to do the best they could. Another and more ambitious method was to get out white men as teachers. It was in this way that the two brothers Knibb, and later Mr. G. R. Henderson and others of our best European workers, were drafted into the Jamaica sphere. The final solution was to have teachers' classes, where training in the art of teaching could in some measure be given; and under the energy and enthusiasm of the grand men who pioneered our Mission, it was not long after freedom came before the Calabar Institute was founded, in the Normal Department of which the teacher became, as far as circumstances permitted, fitly prepared for his work.

Space would fail to tell of the quaint things that happened betwixt manager, teacher, and scholars in the early days. A male teacher, called up to headquarters for examination, was asked: "What have you done with the boys of your school to keep them occupied while you are away?" "Please, sir," he replied, "I went round with the cane, and gave them all a good thrashing."

The relation of the Government and the upper classes to these schools has passed through the following phases: First, indifference, or even hostility; secondly, voluntary help to the missionaries' efforts on the part of planters, magistrates, and officials, of good principle and goodwill; thirdly, in 1850, under the Marquis of Sligo, the public recognition of the value of general education for the children of Jamaica, and the offer of a Government subsidy to assist that and other missionary enterprises. This offer was rejected by Baptist managers, but accepted by those of some other denominations. Next, in 1866, under the Reformed Government, this offer was renewed in such a form as enabled our missionaries to accept it. The subsidy was apportioned to the merits of the school and the numbers in attendance, and the schools were regularly inspected by Government inspectors. In 1867 there were 379 such schools under missionary management. Later on grants in aid were made to denominational colleges



WESTWOOD GIRLS' SCHOOL.

that trained teachers, provided these were able to pass year by year the Government examination, and a large endowed institution, the Mico, named after Lady Mico, by whose bequest it was established, was utilized for the same purpose. Finally, in 1901, the Educational Department of the Jamaica Government undertook more fully the business of training teachers and paying their salaries, although, for the most part, their appointment and dismissal were in the hands of the missionary managers of the schools. Since 1902 a few board schools, under joint management, have been substituted for denominational schools in suitable districts, and a model school and a technical school, entirely under Government management, are now to be found in Kingston. Not a few managers entertain the hope that in due course a complete system of National Schools will be established, which will relieve the Jamaica pastor from the heavy responsibility and incessant petty worry of the management of the day-schools in his district.

II

BAPTIST EFFORTS AT HIGHER EDUCATION

The first of these were the boys' schools opened at Kingston and Port Royal by the earliest Baptist missionaries, into which seem to have been gathered chiefly the children of free people of colour. To look round Kingston, or any Jamaica settlement to-day, and note the positions occupied, and the good service rendered to the community, by men and women of mixed parentage, is to see the success that has attended this early effort to bring education within the reach of that large number whose home is the island of their birth, and who have shown themselves capable of becoming so valuable a section of the island community.

Mr. Phillippo, at Spanish Town, opened what he called a Metropolitan School, which for many years did the same

kind of work, sending out into the business and technical life of the island workers who were neither slaves nor owners of slaves, but fitted, we may say, to bridge the gulf between these two, giving to some extent an element of stability and unity to the whole population. This is similar to the development of the middle and trading classes in England that filled the gulf between Norman noble and Saxon serf, blending them eventually into one English nation.

Many years later, when Calabar premises at Kingston had become an educational centre, the College tutors opened a High School for Boys, where Jamaican lads, for whom a higher education was wanted than the day-school could supply, became fitted to be clerks and accountants, or for apprenticeship to one of the learned professions. The opportunities for such training for the children of black or coloured parents were very small, and the opening of this school was hailed with much thankfulness. For many years the Calabar High School served its purpose well, and merchants and Government agents of middle age can be seen in town or country to-day who owe their success to the training they received there.

A somewhat similar effort has quite recently been made on the new college premises in the north of Kingston, where, under the management of the President, the School for the Higher Education of Boys has been opened with great success.

It will have struck the reader that in the schools mentioned only boys are provided for. We proceed therefore to describe a well-known and flourishing girls' school. The Westwood High School for Girls, as it is now called, is situated near Stewart Town, on the healthy uplands of North Jamaica, and numbers about eighty boarding pupils. This school, it should be mentioned, is not denominational in character; the daughters of parents of all other denominations are as free to enter as those of Baptists. Nor is any denominational tinge given to the life and teaching at

Westwood. But it is mentioned here because the initiation, development, and present success of the school are due to the enterprise and perseverance of a well-known and honoured Baptist minister of Jamaican birth, the Rev. W. M. Webb. A marked feature in this school is the domestic department, where, apart from books, the girls are trained in all those practical arts which fit a woman to look well after the ways of her household.

Under this especial heading—the Higher Education of Girls—it is a pleasure to mention the work behind the scenes that has been done, and is now being done, at some of our Baptist manses. Just as the minister at many places conducts a Young Men's Bible Class, and gives private tuition in other than Bible subjects to young men of the congregation who want to improve themselves and to qualify for some coveted position, so, from the earliest days of our Baptist Mission, the minister's wife, where she has had the strength and qualifications, has conducted educational work outside her Church and especially among the more thoughtful and industrious young women. In addition to Bible teaching they have learnt needlework, cooking, house-management; have heard books read aloud that improve the mind, and have been encouraged to read them themselves, and have been led a little way into those finer arts that improve the taste and develop the sense of beauty—music, painting, and decoration. Such service as this is not advertised, nor can its results be tabulated, but its value is unquestionable. As daughters, as wives, as mothers in Jamaican homes, as neighbours in the mountain hamlets, as workers in Church and Sunday-school, manse-trained girls can be found all over Jamaica, who are, unconsciously, centres for good to the womanhood around them. Their minds are wider, their tastes more refined; they have better judgment and self-control; they have higher ideals by reason of that early training.

A word should be added here upon the educational value

of Sunday-school work in Jamaica. In many schools the teaching is necessarily very primitive, because the teachers have no opportunity of training, and there are cases where, with the advance of day-school teaching, this lack has become a serious hindrance to the Sunday-school work; but, on the other hand, in schools where the teachers are more apt to teach, or where the minister conducts a Teachers' Preparation Class, the educational value of the school is borne witness to by the better manners, purer morals, and higher tone of conversation among the growing boys and girls.

III

THE BAPTIST TRAINING COLLEGE

It is an accepted principle in Foreign Mission work that the natives of the country are destined to be the chief instruments in its evangelization. While great things are done under God's blessing by the foreign missionary in introducing the Gospel, gathering converts, and forming Churches, and later on, in organizing and superintending the general work of the Mission, the work itself becomes more and more dependent on native agency. This was the Apostle Paul's method, as his Epistles show; and in the chief Baptist fields of to-day—in India, China, and Africa—more and more of the actual work of preaching, teaching, and pastoral service is being done by converted natives of the land.

Obviously, then, when a Mission has found its feet, and is beginning to possess the land and gather the fruits, nothing is more urgently needed than arrangements for training native workers.

The importance of this was realized from the first by the Jamaica pioneers. Burchell, Knibb, and Phillippo all speak of it in their early letters, and urge it strongly upon the Committee at home, but until the destruction of slavery in



THE LATE REV. D. J. EAST.



REV. A. JAMES, B.A.



REV. E. E. PRICE, B.A., B.D.

A GROUP OF THREE PRESIDENTS.

1838, no general scheme could be attempted. How were young native converts to get a college training when all their time belonged to the owners of their bodies? At the United Meeting, however, in 1839, our missionaries solemnly resolved to establish a college for the training of such Jamaica converts as seemed likely to become able ministers of the New Testament. At that early date in Mission history this was a bold venture, for no institution of exactly this kind had yet been tried in the Mission field. It is true that the College of the Mission at Serampore, India, had been founded twenty years earlier, but its main object was "to instruct Asiatic Christian and other youth in Western literature and science"; a secondary object was "to give the native evangelist such a knowledge of Christian truth as would fit him to propagate the faith among his countrymen." But the Jamaica College was to be distinctly a college for the training of missionaries and ministers; and this idea, in such circumstances as those of Jamaica and of Mission work in general, is strong evidence of the far-sightedness of those early missionaries; of their faith, not only in God but in the capability of the native converts, recently rescued from slavery, to become by training able ministers, missionaries, and teachers of the Word of God.

It was first proposed to have the College in Kingston, and in 1840 premises were secured and fitted up to accommodate six students, and Mr. Josuah Tinson, then pastor of Hanover Street and Yallahs Churches, was appointed President. The attempt was postponed because of Mr. Tinson's breakdown in health and return for a time to Europe; but the idea was by no means given up. A committee was appointed to find a suitable site, and one of the announced objects of William Knibb's visit to England in 1842 was to secure the assistance of the Home Committee, which he most successfully accomplished.

The site finally chosen was a place called Calabar, in the parish of Trelawney, at about two miles distance from Rio

Bueno, on the north coast. The cost of purchase and fitting up was about £1,000. There was much difference of opinion about the suitability of the site; one substantial advantage was that it was within easy reach of most of the Mission stations then existing, a matter of great practical importance to committee-men, who had to make long journeys by mountain path and unbridged river to get to the College. Mr. Tinson came back to the island in April, 1843, and on October 6, Calabar College was formally opened with ten students in residence. A public meeting was held in the open air, when the President gave an address on "The Advantages of an Educated Ministry," Mr. William Knibb on "The Duty of Supporting Theological Institutions," while Mr. John Clark of Brownstown gave a personal address to the students. Here for some years President Tinson carried on work of that kind which makes little outward show, produces no sudden startling results, but, like the yeast in the flour, spreading silently and unseen, gradually leavens the whole lump.

It would be interesting to see a curriculum of the course of study at that first college, but whatever it was, in Mr. Tinson's hands, who was a lover of learning and a born tutor, the training given did its work in developing the students—ex-slaves and sons of slaves, and but recently descended from the unevangelized savage—into capable Christian workers, able to preach acceptably, and to conduct the ordinary business of a Christian Church.

Mr. Tinson had charge of the College, as well as of the pastorate of Rio Bueno Church for seven years. An indefatigable worker, he was not robust in health, but when confined to bed would have the students round him, and so keep the classes going. Mr. Tinson passed away in December, 1850, and was carried to the grave by the students of the College, who made great lamentation over him.

Two years later, in 1852, there came from England a most worthy successor to Mr. Tinson in the person of the

Rev. D. J. East, the memory of whom, as "Father East," is cherished by numbers of workers who received their training as his students. Mr. East took both offices, the College and the Church. Within a year the progress of the College was so marked that at the Annual Meeting, 1853, a Special Resolution was passed recognizing it. Native-born ministers who were educated there were accustomed to speak of the all-round character of the training given, how the students had to keep things tidy about the premises, work with hoe and machette on the grounds, and, in general, do all those things for themselves which by-and-by they would have to see done at the Mission-houses. They spoke, too, of the healthy strictness of discipline exercised by the President, the uncompromising reprimand they received for slackness or disobedience, the President's punctuality in holding classes, the conscientious care with which he did whatever he said he would do, his promptitude in answering letters, and his insistence on having his letters replied to. All this integrity, thoroughness, and businesslike despatch Mr. East himself attributed to the impression made on his mind as a youth by Foster's Essay on "Decision of Character," then a comparatively new work. One of these old students amusingly described Mr. East's inborn faculty for bringing wrong-doers to order by unaided moral force: "He had a habit of looking at us which made us wish we could go down through the floor. We would all much rather the President had thrashed us than look at us like that."

Feeling strongly that the fewness of the theological students was a serious disadvantage to college life, Mr. East, with help from friends at home, enlarged the premises, and opened a Normal Department for the training of teachers, thereby raising the number of students from an average of ten to one of thirty-five. This development was in every way a success. It not only made possible more social fellowship during college days; it brought the theological students into healthy competition with their brothers of the

desk; it supplied teachers for the Mission schools who had grown up in sympathy with Baptist principles, and experience showed that the Normal School was the best possible nursery for competent candidates for the ministry.

The College continued at Rio Bueno until 1869, when it was transferred to Kingston. The circumstances were these: The Church at East Queen Street, founded in 1816, and at one time numbering 3,000 members, had fallen on bad times. With the formation of new Churches in the districts round the city great numbers of the members had been drafted off from the City Church. A further decline of numbers had accompanied a serious disturbance within the Church. This was the more to be regretted because the Mission premises included a considerable piece of land, a commodious chapel and schoolroom, and a well-built Mission-house. It was accordingly suggested and agreed to that Calabar College should be transferred to Kingston, and re-erected on the chapel premises, where a second house could be built for a tutor, and that the College President should be pastor of East Queen Street Baptist Church. The cost of the transfer and building work amounted to £1,420, which was raised chiefly in England by Mr. East's personal efforts.

Mr. East himself told the writer, then a tutor of the College, of the desolate appearance of the premises when he first inspected them with a view to taking charge; of the broken pew-backs in the chapel, and of the boltless doors through which the goats from the Kingston yards wandered at will into the sanctuary; of how Mrs. East sat down and wept at the sight, only to be reproved by the President's characteristic comment: "Crying won't make it any better."

The chapel was soon cleaned, refloored, and reseated by the vigorous action of that Foster-like decision of character, which "gets things done," and before long a fine college building with a pillared portico looked down a well-ordered carriage drive into the main street. The manse renewed its youth, and the sheltered garden, lying on a level many feet

above the dusty street, became one of the best managed private gardens in Jamaica. There was a touch of William Carey about D. J. East's workmanship most interesting to notice; he developed Calabar premises into a little Serampore. Like Carey, too, he spent his forty years of well-planned and strenuous labour, which has left its mark for good on the whole community.

A strong day-school was attached to Church and College on these Kingston premises which, on the one hand, gave the Normal students the practice they needed in the art of pedagogy; and on the other, constantly sent the growing boys and girls onwards as candidates into the inquirers' class of the Baptist Church. This school, under the mastership of the late Mr. T. B. Stephenson—acknowledged as one of the ablest teachers Jamaica has produced—for many years stood one of the foremost in the marks gained at examination, and in general character amongst the Government inspected day-schools of Jamaica.

As the College grew an additional teacher was housed on the premises, who, beside teaching in the College, in the capacity of Normal School tutor, conducted for some years a boys' boarding school referred to in a previous paragraph.

In his dealings with Government, especially with the Education Department, President East rendered service not only to the Baptist cause, but to all the Nonconformist Churches of the island. His mingled firmness and courtesy could generally secure attention from any official at headquarters, however prejudiced or indifferent, while the moral rightness of his requests, always carefully reasoned out beforehand, and his unmistakable determination to get what he aimed at, generally led him to success. He absolutely refused to see privileges granted specially to the schools of one denomination which ought to be accorded equally to all. He insisted on recognition by the Government of publicly useful work done in the schools or colleges under Nonconformist management.

Men of this type Baptist Missions in the Colonies have always needed. Let us thank God that in Jamaica, as elsewhere, His providence has always supplied them.

Mr. East gave up his post in 1892, having laboured strenuously far beyond the three score years and ten. He retired to England with Mrs. East, who, long before her thirty years' service in Jamaica, had worked with Jamaicans in the African Mission at Fernando Po, West Africa. And in the Homeland, after a peaceful eventide, both passed away. Visiting the venerable ex-President in his last illness, the writer was privileged to be the last colleague with whom he talked over Jamaica matters; nor can he ever forget the dear old man's broken ejaculations and sobs when prayer was offered for the field he loved so well.

In 1893 a new President arrived in the person of the Rev. Arthur James, B.A., who gave up his pastorate at Thrapston, Northamptonshire, after twelve years of happy ministry, at the call of the Missionary Society, for the work in Jamaica. This presidency continued till the close of 1910. The tutors at that time were James Balfour, M.A., classical tutor (who taught mathematics and euclid), and L. Tucker, M.A., Normal School tutor (whose section of the curriculum included Latin and Greek).

Two important events marked the history of the College under Mr. James. In 1901 the Education Department of the Government proposed to undertake the training of all male day-school teachers, withdrawing the grants hitherto made for this purpose to denominational colleges such as Calabar. While opinions differed as to the effect the closing of the Normal School might have upon the general status of the College, especially within the denomination, it was felt that the proposal of Government was in the natural order of things, and in no sense a reflection on the quality of the work done by the denominational Normal Schools. In the progress of civilization and the development of organized government in any community, there comes a time when

the Government itself can undertake the whole business of providing education for the children. It was also recognized that by handing over the training of teachers to the Mico Institution, which the Government was arranging to utilize for this purpose, we were setting free the missionary agents who formed the College staff, to give their services wholly to ministerial training and the assistance of the Churches.

At the present time young Baptist men of the Jamaica Churches who want to be teachers try to qualify for entrance into the Mico Institution. While there they attend East Queen Street Baptist Chapel, whose pastor, the Rev. W. Pratt, M.A., exercises pastoral oversight over them, and in general befriends and assists them during their College residence. Among the Churches there was some disappointment at first because the members could no longer send their promising lads to a college of their own denomination to be trained as teachers, but on the whole the new order of things was soon acquiesced in. The most disadvantageous effect was on the College itself. Not only was the number of students reduced from thirty to about ten, but the supply of ministerial candidates, who had had the great advantage of Normal School training and practical experience among the young, was lessened.

The same year that the Normal School was given up, the senior tutor, Mr. James Balfour, resigned his post, and migrated with his family to U.S.A., where, under the severity of the American winter, he contracted pneumonia, in 1904, and passed away. Tutor Balfour was well known in Jamaica, and respected and loved by students and Churches alike. He took a great interest in the Jamaica Teachers' Union, which included day-school teachers of good character from all parts of the island. His sympathy with their efforts at self-improvement, and entire absence from his bearing and intercourse of racial prejudice and "side," won him the confidence and affection of the teachers to their own great advantage and his constant joy. Mrs. James Balfour was a daughter of

Mr. East. At the time of writing, Mrs. Balfour, with her daughters, is resident in Canada.

Before leaving the subject of Normal School training, a word might be added on the position of the day-school teacher in Jamaica. In the earliest schools he was wholly the employé of the missionary, who held the position of manager; and at the present time most of the day-school teachers, though paid indirectly by Government, hold their positions under the management of some minister or board on which ministers predominate. The teachers' higher education gives him a position of respect and influence in the district, and very often, and very naturally, he holds office of some kind in connection with the Church. He is sometimes choirmaster and organist; perhaps superintendent of the Sunday-school, and when any anniversary is coming on, "teacher" is looked to to organize and take a leading part. If in himself he is good and godly, and of sound judgment, "teacher" can do great things for the progress of religion and its manifold blessings in his district; if otherwise, alas! he has endless opportunities of mischief. Some of the finest native workers in Jamaica to-day are those who are teachers of the right sort.

An even more important event was the transference of the College from East Queen Street to new premises in April, 1904. There were important reasons for this change. The old College buildings, which had been added to from time to time without much regard to architecture or hygiene, were becoming worn out. Rat-bat, cockroach, duck-ant, and climatic decay had, after many patchings, made them no longer worth repairing. Moreover, for health's sake and comfort it was desirable to get new buildings embodying the great improvements which modern science has brought about in College construction. After consultation with the Home Committee, whose consent was necessary, and much inquiry and visitation of possible sites, President James drew the attention of the College Committee to Chetolah Park, a



CALABAR COLLEGE.

small property in the north-west of Kingston, a mile inland from the harbour, and therefore higher up the rising ground than was the case with the old premises. The property comprises about eleven acres of land lying west of a main thoroughfare, and away from its noise. Part of the land, with a house upon it, was rented to a tenant, an arrangement which still holds good. On the other part, the north section, a fine building was put up, comprising, in one block, library and lecture-rooms, students' quarters, and the residence of the President. The building is on a strong cement foundation, the lower story of brick, the upper of wood, and the whole range, ground floor and upper, is surrounded and protected from sun and rain by a broad-roofed veranda. The surrounding ground is laid out as a garden with lawns large enough for tennis and croquet; a back portion forms a cricket ground. Thus far the hygienic arrangements have stood the test of cold season and May and October rains, of tempest, cloud-burst, and the fierce heat and merciless dust of severe drought. In the terrible earthquake of January, 1907, Calabar College was one of the very few buildings of its size that stood the strain without serious injury. The total cost of the new premises, including £900 purchase money, against which may be set the yearly rental of a portion of it, was £3,500 10s. 7d., towards which the parent Society in England gave the unappropriated balance of legacies that had been left for the College, amounting to £692 12s. 5d., with permission to add whatever sum could be obtained by the sale of the old premises. Mr. James collected £414 11s. 10d.

The foundation stone of the new Calabar was laid in April, 1903, by Captain Baker, a large proprietor and steamship manager; and less than a year later, on April 13, 1904, the building was publicly opened, the Rev. Charles Williams, of Accrington, coming over from England to represent the Home Society.

When the new College was opened, Mr. James was the

only resident tutor, Mr. Tucker having left in the summer of 1902. Arrangements were, however, made with the Rev. W. Pratt, M.A., of East Queen Street Chapel to take classes in certain subjects.

An attempt was made to hold evangelistic services on Sundays in the large class-room for the growing population, that surrounded the property. This was done with a view to the possibility of gathering a Baptist Church in North-West Kingston, a project which has just become an accomplished fact.

A word may be fittingly said here as to the kind of training theological students at Calabar receive, and their relation to the Churches of the island. An essential qualification for acceptance as a student is conversion. None are wanted as preachers of the Gospel who have not first accepted it themselves, and begun to show the evidence of this in a consistent Christian life. Secondly, there must be aptness to preach and to teach. If the Master calls a man to proclaim His message, one sign of the call will be a natural facility in public speaking. A third requirement is the ability to study, which includes the ability to be taught. The gift of speech alone, without the power to keep acquiring fresh knowledge, especially knowledge of the Bible, will not equip a man to make known to a congregation month by month, and in due order, the whole counsel of God. A fourth requisite is a certain degree of elementary education already acquired. A College tutor's time and strength should not be employed in teaching the three R's. Of these four qualifications, however, it is obvious that the last is the least important, partly because it can so easily be gained by anyone who possesses the other three. At Calabar College an otherwise promising candidate might be put back a year or so because of want of general education, but he would not be ultimately refused.

In the theological classes a knowledge of Divine truth as set forth in the Word of God is the main thing aimed at, together with such guidance and training in the habit and

methods of study as will enable a student after he leaves College to continue his Bible studies. Book-learning of other kinds is of course added, with a view to his mental efficiency in the pulpit and out of it. The historical setting of the Scripture canon, the history of the Chosen People, the history in outline of the Christian Church from the times of the Christ and His Apostles, New Testament Greek: these are obviously valuable accessories to an understanding of the Word of God. Next may be mentioned practical training in the preparation of sermons and in their delivery, with all that belongs technically to what may be called the craft of the public speaker; training in English grammar and composition, and the proper pronunciation of those words and vowel-sounds that so often go wrong in ordinary Jamaica speech; lectures on Church management and other practical functions of ministerial life; training in book-keeping, with special application to Church accounts. These studies, by the testimony of former students, have proved of real value in actual ministerial life. Other branches of learning not strictly ministerial have from time to time been studied, such as general history, geography, physiography, logic, and psychology.

Mention was made of Mr. East's practice of making the students of the College keep the premises clean; at one time they worked strips of provision ground. This subject has, perhaps, never been accorded a place on the official curriculum, but few will deny that it has its moral worth. One well-wisher to the College has long urged the addition of practical training in the building and repair of chapels and manses!

The connection of our students with the Churches is much the same as in England. From time to time the students are sent out to conduct the Lord's Day services, the seniors more often than the juniors, and during the summer holiday, which lasts two months, most of the students reside with some minister, and assist him in the capacity of temporary

assistant pastor in all branches of his work. Granted reality and earnestness on both sides, and it would be difficult to say which gets most benefit from these ministrations, the congregation or the preacher.

In accordance with Free Church practice, when a student leaves college after a term of training approved by the Staff and the Committee, he is qualified to accept pastoral charge of any Church that invites him. In some cases, however, he becomes for a year or two assistant minister to one of the elder brethren, thereby gaining practical experience without the heavy responsibility of complete charge. More than one of our ablest and most successful Calabar-trained ministers have testified to the value all through after-life of this early assistantship. Some students on leaving hear the Master's call to regions beyond, and are sent by our Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society to needy spheres in other West Indian Islands or in Central America, or through the English Baptist Missionary Society to Central Africa. It is pleasant to record that at Calabar, as in English and American Colleges, the college friendships formed frequently continue through life, and men “of the same year,” foregathering many years afterwards, renew at once the unrestrained ease and good-fellowship of the “golden days.”

To the above description of the position of a student a word may here be added about that of the staff. By the agreement made with the Home Society in 1842, when our Baptist Churches became self-supporting, the College staff were to be supplied and supported from England. In the members of the staff then, the Jamaica Mission has two or three highly trained workers not dependent on island funds for their support. They are often looked to as preachers or speakers at any special function among the Churches; and their position has enabled the staff to render valuable service as emergency men. A Church may be suddenly left pastorless. Other pastors in the district, who would gladly help, have their hands already more than full with their own

Churches and schools. But here is a member of the College staff, busy enough during the week, but with his Sundays at his own disposal: forthwith, if invited, he takes temporary charge. Again, in vacation time the members of the staff are able to do good work by holding a round of special meetings among the Churches of some scattered district where the face of a visiting minister is all too seldom seen, or by residing for a fortnight at the Mission house of some hard-pressed brother whose labours he can lighten by sharing them, as well as by cheering him with Christian intercourse and companionship. Again, in the visitation of our Mission stations in other islands, the vacation weeks of a College tutor have sometimes been utilized with great advantage. The welcome given to these services and the goodwill and gratitude evoked are among the most delightful incidents of a missionary tutor's life.

Mr. James's presidency ended in December, 1910, when he retired to England. To the first President, Mr. Tinson, belongs the honour of initiating and shaping the Training College for Native Ministers, the first of its kind in any Mission field; to Mr. East, of developing the work and of adding the useful Normal School Department, also of removing the College to the capital of the island and securing its due recognition among the educational forces of Jamaica; with Mr. James, the third President, lies the credit of choosing and securing a better site and of the erection of the present admirable building.

Mr. James was succeeded by the Rev. Ernest Price, B.A., B.D., who gave up his pastorate at Sheffield, at the request of the Committee, to become President of Calabar College. With Mr. Price, as with Mr. James, the frequent affectionate messages received from his former flock show in what esteem he was held and how reluctantly they let him go. For two years, whilst negotiations concerning the change of President and other matters were proceeding, the office of tutor was occupied on behalf of the Home Committee by

Mr. L. Tucker, formerly Normal School tutor, who returned to Jamaica for this purpose. In the summer of 1911 a tutor was appointed in the person of the Rev. David Davies, B.A., B.D., recently of Bristol College, and for a short time pastor of the Baptist Church at Street, Somersetshire. These two gentlemen, Mr. Price and Mr. Davies, both trained at Bristol College, and both holding similar University degrees, form now the European staff supplied and supported from England according to the agreement made with the Jamaica Committee in 1842. The following new factors have been introduced into the work at Calabar College under the new President:

First, the Calabar High School for Boys, for which new premises have been erected. Its purpose is to supply higher education—equivalent, it may be said, to that of the Grammar School in England—for the sons of Jamaica ministers and of those Church officers or members of good standing who want to give their boys a higher education and personal training than the Government day-school can supply. The scheme was definitely proposed by Mr. Price to the committees in Jamaica and England in the summer of 1911. It received their united sanction, and within twelve months the necessary buildings were up and the school in operation. It is also hoped by means of this school the children of our leading Baptist members will remain attached to the denomination as they grow up; that some will enter the College to recruit our under-manned ministry; that some will become teachers; and that others who enter business will supply what many West Indian Churches so sorely need, laymen of light and leading in all branches of Christian work.

The following particulars of this effort, received as we go to Press from Mr. Price, are gladly inserted, and will be read with thankfulness by all friends of the Jamaica Mission.

Though only a year old, the High School opens its autumn session (1913) with eighty scholars, of whom thirty-eight are

boarders. It stands on the Government list of approved Secondary Schools, and its headmaster has a seat at the Headmasters' Conference. The fees for day scholars are on a par with those charged at Hope College or the High School in Vere.

Special concessions are made for the sons of Jamaica Baptist ministers, and it is hoped to institute scholarships for those of Baptist Church officers and leading members. It is not intended, however, to limit the benefits of the school to Baptist families or to the Jamaica-born. The doors are open to all denominations, and at the present time sons of English ministers are among the scholars.

It may be added that this enterprise has the goodwill and confidence of the Baptist Missionary Society Committee in London no less than of workers in the island.

Second, European students at the College. Three such are now under tuition: young men from England, looking forward to pastoral or missionary work, who are taking their training at Calabar instead of at some English college. These candidates purpose entering the Jamaica ministry or some other West Indian field at the close of their course. Meanwhile they are becoming accustomed to life in the tropics and testing their ability to stand it; they are learning "Jamaica" at the same time as New Testament Greek, and should they enter our ministry they will do it with first-hand experience of things Jamaican, which will be of great gain to them and to the Churches they serve. It is also hoped that the intercourse in the free fellowship of college life between European and Jamaica-born students will be mutually helpful during college days, and an enduring bond of good understanding and sympathy when they become ministers or missionaries.

Third, co-operation in college training with brethren of other denominations. During 1910, in response to an earnest invitation brought from the English Committee by Messrs. Wilson and Penny, a deputation from England, a series of conferences were held at Calabar by delegates from

the Boards, or Synods, of six Free Church denominations at work in Jamaica: Congregationalist, Presbyterian (both the Scotch Kirk and the United Free), Moravian, Wesleyan Methodist, and Baptist. By these a scheme was drawn up and agreed to for the establishment of a united training College, to which all these Christian bodies, and perhaps others later on, could send their students for training. This scheme was worked out at successive meetings in considerable detail, but it should be distinctly understood that no denomination was thereby committed to its acceptance. The delegates were only empowered to bring back from the conference a scheme for consideration by each Board or Synod concerned, nor was the Home Society that called the conference in any way pledged to the issue.

In the result the Jamaica Baptist Union, which met first of the Boards concerned, did not see their way to accept the scheme as it stood, and in view of this finding the scheme was reported only, but not taken into consideration by the other Boards represented. No conference of delegates has since been summoned, but it is most gratifying to report that one of the denominations represented in 1910 has definitely proposed to the Home Committee and to the College Committee in Jamaica united action in this important matter. Let us hope that others will follow. Let it be remembered that co-operation amongst the agents of missionary societies in any one field, was one of the most urgent recommendations of the great Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. The practicability of it in the training of students is almost too obvious to need emphasis: so much of the training that a candidate needs will be the same whatever the denomination he belongs to. The advantages are equally obvious. The staff that teaches a few students can as easily teach more. Moreover, a large college makes possible a more highly equipped staff, and better class-rooms and apparatus. Again, a college of twenty students is better for the men themselves than a college of eight, and the fellowship in college of young

men of different Christian denominations gives good hope of that co-operation in responsible work by-and-by, the lack of which has often been so serious a hindrance to the general progress of the work itself, and to its influence on the unbelieving or non-Christian world. In India, China, and Africa at the present time Baptist missionaries are in active union with those of other denominations in this particular matter of the training of candidates. Let us hope that the workers in Jamaica, all those at least who seek first and foremost the "Kingdom of God and its righteousness," will soon have possessed themselves of the same advantage.

This record of the College would hardly be complete unless mention was made of the honorary services of those who have shared the responsibility of the institution with its paid staff. Thrice a year the Committee have met, a company of twelve or so Jamaica ministers, some of them trained at the College, who give their time and thought without charge to the College business. Every candidate is interviewed personally by this Committee, and his written answers to the usual questions are read before them. One or two of them arrange to hear him conduct service; and, apart from the official interview, they give him kindly words of encouragement or counsel.

The heaviest burden, however, falls on the Secretary who has to summon the Committee, carry out their instructions, and conduct a great deal of laborious correspondence with and about candidates all the year round. The office of Secretary was filled for many years by some agent from England, the last of whom to hold it was the Rev. Philip Williams, of Bethel Town, who added this secretariat to his many and heavy burdens as pastor of large Churches in the Western district, and Secretary of the Jamaica Baptist Union. Mr. Williams resigned this office in 1904 after thirty years of service, and the position is now held by the Rev. T. Gordon Somers of Spanish Town, a native of Jamaica and a former student in the Theological Department of the College.

CHAPTER VI

MISSIONARY WORK OF THE JAMAICA BAPTIST MISSION

I. MISSIONARY IMPULSE OF THE FREEDMEN'S CHURCHES.

II. MISSION TO THE CAMEROONS.

The Fullers. Miss Vitou (Mrs. D. J. East).

III. THE JAMAICA BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

(1) Formation and First Stages.

(2) Home-work of the J.B.M.S.

(3) Assisting the African Mission of the English Society.

(4) Missions in the Spanish Main, Hayti, Cuba, Isthmus of Panama, Costa Rica, Cayman Islands, Belize.

IV. PUBLICATIONS OF THE J.B.M.S.

The Jamaica Baptist Reporter.

V. FIELDS WAITING.

The Heathen at our Door.

"THE Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come." It is one of the most delightful incidents in the story of our Jamaica Mission that when our Church members, who were slaves, were made free, and even before they became free themselves, their thoughts turned earnestly toward their black brethren of pagan Africa and of islands around Jamaica not yet favoured with the Gospel. This seems to have been largely due to the broad mind and wide sympathies of the missionaries through whom freedom came. In William Knibb's letters, and not less in those of



THE LATE REV. E. J. HEWETT.



REV. ELLIS FRAY.
(Grandson of William Knibb).

SECRETARIES OF JAMAICA BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

his brethren, one may trace the same large conception and grandeur of purpose that marked William Carey, as it did the Wesleys and other pioneers of Gospel extension. Carey, while preaching to Hindoos, was planning the evangelization of all Asia, indeed of all the heathen world, and William Knibb, while destroying British slavery, was scheming to abolish it from America and all other communities. The Gospel which Burchell preached at Mount Carey and Phillippo at Spanish Town was, in the purposes of these good men, to be proclaimed in Cuba, Hayti, and Trinidad, in South America, and throughout the Dark Continent. Few scenes of those early days are more impressive, or perhaps more edifying, than that of a large congregation composed almost wholly of slaves, listening, deeply moved, to Knibb's account of the benighted condition of their brethren in Africa, and then bowing their heads while one and another among them pleaded with the God of Missions for an opportunity to carry to their brethren the Gospel light that was already shining on themselves.

The first Baptist Mission that visited the west coast of Africa sailed from Jamaica, and of the missionary band composing it the majority were of Jamaica birth and African complexion. The story of that Mission is briefly this: When William Knibb visited England in 1840 one purpose in his mind was to persuade the English Society to commence missionary work in that part of Africa from which the majority of the slaves or their forefathers came. He told them of interviews he had had with Africans in Jamaica. There were, he said, fifty thousand Baptists there who wanted their fatherland to receive the Gospel. The English Society forthwith sent two pioneers, John Clarke (afterwards of Jericho) and Dr. Prince, who reached Fernando Po January 1, 1841. In February, 1843, we find Knibb back in Jamaica holding a crowded meeting on behalf of Africa. Among the many engagements of that year the Jamaica missionaries found time to search out among the Churches

a missionary band, chiefly young black men, who were prepared to go as pioneers to their heathen fatherland. One of these Knibb had trained himself; one was the superintendent of his own Sunday-school; one was a lad named Fuller going to rejoin his father in Fernando Po, and who, as J. J. Fuller, lived a long and honourable missionary life in the African service, and in his later years was known and loved and welcomed among all the Churches in the Homeland as the best of missionary deputations. A vessel named the *Chilmark* was chartered in England, came over with Clarke and Prince to Jamaica, and on December 1, 1843, left Falmouth Harbour for its voyage to Africa, William Knibb himself, by the captain's permission, and with his aid, steering the vessel out of the harbour.

This first African Mission, it should be understood, was under the auspices of the English Society, but the inspiration and most of the workers came from Jamaica. And here may fittingly be mentioned a later memorial link between the work in Fernando Po and our Jamaica Mission. For more than thirty years that President of our College, who held office longest, the Rev. D. J. East, had by his side a wife who was known at all our Mission houses for her devotion to him personally as well as to the work he loved. Long years before, in the early days of the African Mission, this lady, as Miss Vitou, went to Fernando Po, being the first of single lady workers to go to that far region, where at one time she lived absolutely alone, save for the school children and native families among whom she worked. Returning to England, after some years, in ill-health, she was asked by Mr. East, then a widower, to become his partner, and, returning with him to Jamaica, she shared his life and labours to their close. Mrs. East's reminiscences of the African Mission, as the writer heard them at first hand, were of the greatest interest; and when she was buried in England at a great old age, within a year or so of the home-call of her husband, great numbers of the children of Africa far

across the seas shared in spirit the respect expressed for her memory.

We come now to the story of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society—that is, the Society formed by our Jamaica Churches for doing missionary work. The outline of its history here given is taken direct from the chronicle, prepared a few years ago by two of our best known workers.

It was in Kingston, in January, 1842, immediately after they had resolved to become independent of the funds of the Baptist Missionary Society, that the Baptist missionaries decided to form the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society. They were led to take this step because they realized that “some provision should be made for the support of those brethren the funds of whose stations would be inadequate,” and in order that “stipends might be furnished to those who should commence operations in new fields of labour in connection with the Jamaica Baptist Mission.” This Society was dissolved in the following year, when the missionaries divided themselves into an Eastern and Western Union, but was immediately formed again in connection with the Western Union.

The original constitution of the Society states that its objects were “to provide for the spiritual destitution of various parts of the island, to assist those associated Churches not receiving aid from the Parent Society, which are unable to raise adequate funds for the support of their ministers, to extend the Gospel in neighbouring colonies and the land of Africa.” No mention is made of a managing committee, and the need of one was not realized until 1854, when Revs. D. J. East, B. Millard, J. E. Henderson, and E. Hewitt, were appointed to act as such. No mention is also made of Calabar College, but from its inception the Society has been responsible for the maintenance of the students in that institution, and the amount contributed annually for this purpose has gradually increased from

about £100 in 1844 to £500 in 1885. This constitution was amended and enlarged in 1861, when the first two rules were made to read thus:

1. "That the Society be designated 'The Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society,' in connection with The Jamaica Baptist Union."

2. "That the objects be to provide for the spiritual destitution of various parts of this island; to support the Calabar Institution and Day-schools; to send the Gospel to Africa and to the islands by which we are surrounded."

Subsequently, but during the period now under review, Sunday-schools and assistance to Churches in their building operations were added to the objects of the Society. Nothing is said in this enlarged constitution concerning the allocation of the funds, but during the first forty years of the Society's history it was the practice for each constituent Church to apportion its contribution to such objects of the Society as it desired to help. While these objects were few in number this practice does not appear to have caused much inconvenience, but as they increased, and especially after the inauguration of the foreign work, great difficulty was sometimes experienced in maintaining certain parts of the Society's work because of insufficient appropriations by the Churches. To obviate this difficulty, it was decided at the Annual Meeting in 1877 that the allocation of the funds should be made by the General Committee in annual session assembled. In the following year, however, on the insistence of the President of Calabar College, who thought it would prove detrimental to the interests of that institution, this decision was rescinded and a reversion made to the former practice. Many of the Churches, however, continued to leave the allocation of their contributions to the General Committee, and in a short time this plan was adopted by all the Churches. For many years, although the Society provided the funds, the allocation and supervision of grants for building purposes were under the

control of the Jamaica Baptist Union, but in 1882 these were transferred to the Baptist Missionary Society.

Home-work of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society.—One prime object of the Society being to carry the Gospel into parts of Jamaica that were spiritually destitute, its first operations took place in this sphere. "Beginning from Jerusalem and all Judea." In 1843 two Churches in the parish of St. Elizabeth, where frequent drought and subsequent poverty make the support of a pastor difficult, asked help from the Society. It was granted, and long continued in the form of an annual grant in aid, the Society requiring each year an account of the work with statistics of membership and contributions. For a time a Scripture reader, or colporteur, was employed in this parish, but this form of work has not been continued. A Church in Clarendon was at this time similarly assisted.

In 1862 the Eastern parishes of Portland and St. Thomas, which, for reasons dating from slavery days, had had very little Gospel teaching, were visited by a Jamaica deputation. Two years later young native workers trained at Calabar College were sent into Portland parish to open up work. Some of these proved capable and trustworthy; some not; but several Churches of to-day in important positions are the result of that extension work, such as those at St. Margaret's Bay, Port Antonio, and Buff Bay.

As for St. Thomas in the East, it will be remembered from an earlier chapter that the people in that isolated, mountainous, and storm-swept end of the island, had had the serious disadvantage of property-owners and magistrates incorrigibly hostile to the uplifting of the peasantry. It was from St. Thomas that our earlier missionaries were shut out from preaching by the refusal of a licence, and it was there that the injustice of the magistrates' court towards black people caused the serious uprising in 1865, which had such disastrous results. Visiting this parish soon after Martial Law, Mr. William Teall established a station at Morant

Bay on the south-east coast, and thence at Prospect, Monklahs, Richmond Gap, and Yallahs. In this extension work he was assisted by two students from Calabar, W. N. Brown and A. P. Watson, for the cost of which assistance a grant of fifty pounds annually was made for several years by the friends of Myrtle Street Baptist Church, Liverpool. Towards the whole expenses of this Mission the English Society made an annual grant for six years of £250, and other help was received through Dr. Underhill, the Baptist Missionary Society Secretary, for purchasing Mission premises. In 1870 a general appeal was made by the Jamaica workers to the Home Committee for money help in this extension work. In response a fund was started, which it was hoped would enable the Society to send out four more workers, who would be supported wholly or in part from the fund for the first four years, by which time it was expected that the new stations would become self-supporting. Only two missionaries were sent out—Mr. Rees, who was stationed at Balaclava, and Mr. P. Williams, who settled at Mandeville. Mr. W. N. Brown, after serving the Baptist Missionary Society for a time at Nassau, Bahamas, took charge of Santa Cruz Church.

Of these workers the following brief note may here be added: Mr. Rees retired again to Wales; Mr. A. P. Watson lived his life out among the eastern Churches and died in 1912; Mr. W. N. Brown, for many years the honoured pastor of Salter's Hill Church, a valued member of committee, and by repute and common consent one of the ablest preachers and platform speakers our College has trained, passed away in 1910. Mr. Williams, already frequently mentioned, is pastor of important Churches and Secretary of the Baptist Union.

Other Home Mission stations, not yet mentioned, are Clonmel and Mount Olive in St. Mary's parish, Dallas Castle and Green Valley in the Port Royal mountains, Mount Charles in St. Andrew, Worsop in Trelawney,

Hewett's View in St. Elizabeth, and Green Island on the extreme west coast. With the increasing number of these Home Mission stations it was found impracticable to supervise them all from headquarters. The Managing Committee therefore decided in 1879 to commit the management of the stations in each parish to the Baptist Association of that district, or, in default of this, to appoint a local committee.

Assistance to the English Society.—A second purpose of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society was to engage in foreign missionary work. This it was not able to do directly and on its own account till thirty-two years after its formation. Meanwhile, however, it worked indirectly in the far-off places by assisting the parent Society. Every year a contribution went from Jamaica for the work in Africa, first on the Cameroons and later in Congoland. This contribution began at £50, was increased to £100, and in 1885 had risen to £200. In 1856 £100 was raised for the outfit and passage of Mr. and Mrs. F. Pinnock, natives of Jamaica, whom the parent Society had accepted for work in West Africa. In 1873 £108 were sent to assist in building the chapel of Mr. J. J. Fuller in Cameroons, and in 1877 £162 odd were sent for a similar work under the care of Mr. Pinnock at Victoria. When the Baptist Missionary Society Congo Mission was begun in 1875, the Jamaica Society wrote home to know whether the application of young Jamaicans would be acceptable. The Home Committee did not think that this would be practicable during the pioneer stage of the Congo Mission, but held out the hope that later on there might be openings which they would be glad for Jamaica-born workers to fill. This hope has been in a measure realized. More than one worker from this island, bearing by descent the same features and complexion that are found on the banks of the Congo, has served in that Mission, and, at the present date, one, Mr. S. C. Gordon, is still in that service. A few years ago, however, a new way of helping was undertaken, which will always be acceptable. Our

Jamaica Society undertook the support of a Congo missionary leaving it to the Home Society without restriction to allot this contribution to any one of their agents, and at the present time Mr. G. Thomas, English (or rather Welsh), is the Baptist Missionary Society worker whom we support. He has visited Jamaica, and the personal relationship established forms a helpful and happy bond both between the two Societies and the two Mission fields.

Fields of the Spanish Main.—Round about Jamaica lie many other islands of the same geographical system, and three days' voyage west, south-west, and south lies the thin irregular curve of land that unites North and South America. The fathers of the Jamaica Mission all cast longing eyes at these possible fields for missionary effort, and at their instigation the parent Society made tentative efforts at certain points to bring to these lands the Gospel which had done such great things for the people of Jamaica.

With the rise of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society it was inevitable that the Baptist work in these spheres should eventually be managed from this nearer centre, and this has gradually come to pass.

Hayti.—As long ago as 1843 Protestants in the Black Republic sent a request to the Jamaica Society to send them a missionary. This, at the time, was impossible, and one regrets to have to record that thirty years passed by before this request was fulfilled. In 1871, a donation of £13 having been received for work in Hayti, Messrs. John Henderson and Ellis Fray visited the island, and three years later, in 1874, Mr. George Angus, a Jamaican of coloured parentage, settled at St. Mark on the west coast. For many years part of the expense of this Mission was met by the friends at Tyndale Church, Bristol. After some years, Mr. Angus severed his connection with the Jamaica Society, with whom, however, he continued in friendly touch, coming over to the island in 1883 to collect contributions for the erection of a Baptist Chapel at St. Mark;



MONS. L'HARRISON.
(Haitian Missionary.)



REV. T. GORDON SOMERS.
(Secretary of Calabar College.)



THE LATE REV. W. M. WEBB.
(Founder of Westwood School.)

and here he continued his useful labour until 1900, when he was accidentally shot dead during one of Hayti's frequent revolutions. A second missionary from Jamaica, Mr. D. M. Kitchen, trained at Calabar, settled at Port de Paix, where he died in 1892.

On the south coast lies the important town of Jacmel, which was till recently a port of call for ocean steamers. The English Society, which had a Mission there, offered in 1882 to hand its work over to the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society. The money difficulty at first stood seriously in the way, but on the English Society's consenting to support the work for a term of years, the island workers took it over, and in 1885 Mr. Rowe, native minister, was appointed. This worker being obliged to leave through ill-health, Mr. L. Tom Evans, from Wales, was appointed to Jacmel in 1893. Mr. Evans held this sphere for one year only, being obliged to resign because of his wife's ill-health, but during that time a fine chapel, costing upwards of £1,000, was completed and opened with school premises attached. These buildings were destroyed by fire (a common catastrophe in Hayti) with nearly the whole town of Jacmel in 1896. It is gratifying to report that in 1908 our Society was able to resume work in Jacmel under favourable conditions. Mr. P. N. L'herisson, a Haytian of high education and good standing in the community, who, from the time of his conversion when he gave up a lucrative distilling business, had been the leading spirit in the Jacmel Baptist Church, and was for many years its acting pastor, agreed to take over official charge of the Jacmel Mission on behalf of the Jamaica Society. He came over to Jamaica in 1910 to make the acquaintance of the Managing Committee, and returning to Jacmel with the hearty confidence and goodwill of all the brethren, has settled into a work for which there could not be a better qualified agent.

At Port au Prince, the capital of Hayti, the Society for three years had Mr. Lucius Hippolyte, M.A., as its agent.

In 1893 Mr. Hippolyte severed his connection with the Society, but has since maintained the pastorate of the Church while supporting himself, principally by school work.

The last agent sent by our Society to Hayti is Mr. Paul de Lattre, who came from his native France by invitation in 1911, and has since been settled with wife and child in Mr. Angus's former sphere.

Cuba.—This large island, lying only ninety miles north of Jamaica, early attracted the attention of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society. A Mission to Cuba was first proposed in 1884. In 1886 Mr. Wood, the first agent, was appointed, and three years later two sons of Jamaica, Mr. Mornan and Mr. Ellis Fray, jun., joined that Mission. Mr. Fray returned next year on the death of Mrs. Fray; Mr. Mornan continued till 1893, when he resumed pastoral work in Jamaica. A few years later, as the result of war, Cuba ceased to be under Spanish rule, and came under the protection of the United States. It is a joy to add that the American Missionary Societies undertook the evangelization of the populace, which they are now vigorously engaged in.

The Isthmus of Panama, Central America.—Fully forty years ago Jamaican labourers began to go to Panama in search of employment, and in 1868 Mr. E. Hewett urged the formation of a Mission there. In the early eighties Mr. Teall visited this sphere, and in 1884 Mr. George Turner went out to Colon as the Society's agent. Things were then in a very bad way on the Isthmus. A French company were attempting to construct a canal from the Atlantic shore to the Pacific, and tempted by exaggerated reports, black labourers by the thousand emigrated thither from Jamaica, St. Thomas, and other islands. But these poor men were not looked after by the authorities or properly provided for. There was almost no public order, and the emigrants from other nations were chiefly adventurers and blacklegs. Numbers of our Jamaica people, including many members of our Baptist Churches, never

came back and have never been accounted for, while those who returned brought with them not only the Colon fever, but a moral plague of lawlessness and vice much more harmful. It is gratifying to note and place on record the immense improvement that is visible in the Canal Zone under the management of the American Government. Mr. Turner's health failed after one year's service, and it was not possible at that time to secure a successor. Meanwhile the emigrants from Jamaica, who were Church members, attached themselves to any Christian company they could find in the strange new lands of Central America, and in some cases formed new Churches, which forthwith they asked the Jamaica Society to take under its wings. Thus, in 1894, the Church at Bocas del Toro was supplied from Jamaica with Mr. Meredith as its pastor, the Society undertaking to find one-third of his salary. In 1898 Mr. Notman succeeded to this post, and ten years later pastor and Church discontinued their connection with the Society, having become wholly self-supporting.

In 1900 several small Churches at stations on the canal course were in like manner taken over, Mr. Loveridge, from England, becoming their pastor. Seven years later this connection with Jamaica was given up, and the pastor and Churches, by agreement between the two Societies, were united with the Southern Baptist Convention of the United States.

Costa Rica.—It is, however, in Costa Rica, the central State north of the Panama Republic, that our Society has its chief work in Central America. This vast banana-growing region was visited in 1888 by Messrs. E. J. Hewett and J. H. Sobey, the latter of whom gave up his pastoral charge at Montego Bay, and became the Society's pioneering agent in Costa Rica. From Port Limon he made tours into the interior of the State, visiting the various labour camps where Jamaicans and others were congregated, and always and everywhere speaking, preaching, and singing the Gospel.

Mr. Sobey's name became well known in that rough region, and not less along the canal course. A chapel was built at Port Limon, which three years later was too small for the congregation. In 1893 Mr. James Hayter, from Harley College, went to Costa Rica as second missionary, with the special idea of preaching to the Spanish-speaking natives, while Mr. Sobey preached in English. Carefully trained in giving by their missionary, the Costa Rican Churches from the first were practically self-supporting. Mr. Sobey resigned in 1899, to become a chaplain in the service of the Isthmian Canal Commission. Other Baptist missionaries in Costa Rica have been Mr. Forde, Mr. McDonald, and Mr. Witt. Messrs. Forde and McDonald are still there, but the Mission is no longer under the auspices of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society.

A few smaller Missions remain to be mentioned.

The Cayman Islands.—These on the map are mere specks of land, lying from 100 to 200 miles north and west of the island of Jamaica. In two of these remote spots, Cayman Brac and Little Cayman, our Society has had workers since 1886. Mr. J. H. Sobey was also the pioneer here, and Mr. Rutty, Mr. Witt (mentioned above), Mr. J. Thrift, and Mr. Charles Barron, have in succession occupied this remote and lonely sphere. In 1898 the Jamaica Society ceased to guarantee the salary of the pastor, but the sphere remained under the auspices of the Society. There are five small Baptist chapels on the two islands.

Belize (British Honduras).—For many years there has been a Baptist Church in this place, and in 1886 the members petitioned the Society to take them under its care. In 1889 Mr. Charles Brown gave up his pastorate at Montego Bay to become missionary in Belize. Here he worked till 1900, during which period the Church was under the auspices of the Society, although financially self-supporting. On Mr. Brown's leaving, the Churches gave up their connection with Jamaica.

In the Bay of Honduras lie several little islands. To one of these, Ruatan, Mr. C. S. Hobson had gone as pastor. In 1888 the sphere was taken over by the Society. Next year, we grieve to record, the missionary and his wife were both foully murdered. At Corn Island, off the coast of Nicaragua, the English-speaking natives petitioned Jamaica for a minister. Mr. John Macaulay (Calabar College) went out in 1904, and commenced a very promising ministry, which was cut short by his being drowned at sea as he was returning to Jamaica on a visit.

“*The Jamaica Baptist Reporter.*”—In order that information concerning the work of the Society might be supplied, both to its agents and its supporters, the Managing Committee began in 1865 to publish a small paper, called *Quarterly Notes*. This continued till 1871, when, in response to a general desire among our people for fuller and more frequent information, an arrangement was made with the proprietor of the *Jamaica Instructor*, a periodical recently started in Kingston, whereby for £12 per annum two columns of his paper were twice in the month reserved for the use of the Missionary Society. These columns were edited by Principal East, of Calabar College, but, as they failed to give satisfaction, a return was made in 1872 to the *Quarterly Notes*. Two years later the Society began to publish a monthly paper, called *The Jamaica Baptist Reporter*. Mr. J. Henderson, Mr. John Kingdon, and Mr. East were successively editors, followed by Mr. W. M. Webb, Mr. G. E. Henderson, M.A., and the present editor, Mr. W. Pratt, M.A., of Kingston. The paper has eight pages, and includes, among other useful matter, Monthly Lesson Notes for Sunday-School Teachers, which are now prepared by a native minister trained at Calabar. This paper has long been of great benefit, no less to the missionary agents and their families than to the members of the Churches. Full liberty is allowed to contributors in the supplying of news and the expression of opinion, and seeing that the value of a denomi-

national paper depends greatly on the extent to which the members of the denomination supply it with news, it is greatly to be desired that Baptist workers in Jamaica and elsewhere should keep the *Reporter* as fully supplied as possible.

The Heathen at our Door.—A curious circumstance in the island story has brought within reach of Christian workers a considerable number of members of heathen communities. The immigration of East Indian coolies has been several times mentioned. At the present time there are said to be about 18,000 natives of India in residence in Jamaica. More recently the wave of emigration from China has carried many thousands from that most ancient community to the lands of the Spanish Main. Between two and three thousand of them are at the present living and trading in Jamaica. Both these Asiatics bring with them heathen cults. The Indian coolie worships Vishnoo, or Sheeba, as the god on whose favour his welfare depends; the Chinaman swears by Confucius or by Buddha. We pass these men on the road, sit with them in the railway carriage, deal with them over the counter; and, as servants of the true God, it is laid on our hearts to ask, Ought we not to preach to them the Gospel? The Jamaica Society made an attempt at this work when, in 1895, an East Indian was engaged to come from Trinidad to be our missionary among the coolies. For six years he was engaged in the work, when for grave reasons the committee had to discontinue it. From that time we have done nothing as a Society to evangelize these heathen at our door, but gladly recognize the value of the work carried on amongst them by the Presbyterian and some other Missions. Individual Baptist pastors, however, in estate districts where there are coolie colonies, have been, and are, taking every opportunity to let these other sheep hear through them the voice of the Good Shepherd.

Nor as a Society have we done anything yet for the Chinese traders and laundrymen. We note with thankful-

ness the efforts made by the Friends' Mission, and some others who employ a Chinese catechist to hold service and distribute vernacular tracts among these heathen of the very far East.

The story of the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society would be incomplete without some record of the services rendered by a succession of Jamaican ministers, who acted as officials and committee men. The first secretary was the Rev. Ellis Fray, who was born in Jamaica and educated at Calabar College. His wife and helpmeet in his work was a daughter of William Knibb. The next secretary was Rev. Edward Hewett, senr., who came out from England in 1842, and succeeded Mr. Burchell as pastor of Mount Carey, Betheltown, and other Western Churches. His wife was Miss Burchell, well known to succeeding generations of ministers as the "Mother of the Denomination." The third secretary was Rev. Edward Jesse Hewett, son of the above, and so long the well-loved pastor of Mount Carey and Mount Peto Churches. His sudden call home left a blank not easy to fill. The present holder of office is another Ellis Fray, son of a former secretary and pastor of a group of Churches at and around Kettering intimately bound up with the great life-work of his grandfather, William Knibb.

The treasurers of the Society have likewise been hard-working pastors of Churches, who gave time and labour voluntarily for love of the work. In order of succession they are: Rev. J. E. Henderson, two of whose nephews are ministers of long standing. He came to Jamaica in 1840, and was for a long time pastor of Montego Bay and Watford Churches. The next to hold office was Rev. John Kingdon, who still, after fifty-two years of arduous service at Falmouth and Unity Churches, as well as in many denominational offices, is still on duty for the Master, despite lessened strength and widowed loneliness. The late Mrs. Kingdon was for very many years his indefatigable helpmeet in all good works. The present treasurer, the Rev. William Pratt,

M.A., came to Jamaica in 1890, being recommended by the English Baptist Missionary Society to the pastorate of East Queen Street and associated Churches. The duties of this important post he continues to fulfil, together with many appointments on Government and philanthropic Boards, despite severe injuries received in the earthquake of 1907. He further serves the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society as Editor of the *Monthly Baptist Reporter*.

CONCLUSION

WHEN we compare Jamaica in 1814, when our first Baptist missionary landed, with what it is a hundred years later, the most conspicuous fact in the contrast, no matter from what point of view we regard it, is the cessation of slavery. No other event has been so large a factor in shaping the history of the people of the island; most certainly no other event looms so large in the story of our Jamaica Baptist Mission. It must not be supposed, however, that it was to work this great social and political change that Rowe and his successors were sent out by the English Society. They came to Jamaica as Christian missionaries—to turn men from spiritual darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God. They were called by their enemies political agitators, but the charge was false. The abolition of slavery, even to such enthusiastic champions of freedom as Knibb and Burchell, was an incident in their work, not its main objective. Slavery had to go because it stood in the way of the evangelization of the great bulk of the people of Jamaica. It is in the same way and for the same purpose that our Jamaica missionaries have from time to time taken a prominent place, sometimes the leading part, in other movements and changes which in themselves may be rightly called social or political. How far, if at all, ministers should take part in politics is not a question to be debated here. Time and again in Jamaica opponents of Missions have made replies to this query, which, analysed, can all be reduced to the same principle: “Not if it interferes with my interest or my enjoyment.” Were any justification needed for the strong political action taken by the Baptist Union as a

whole, or District Associations, or individual ministers, it would surely be found in the principles that animated the Baptist champions of freedom: "We did it for the Gospel's sake."

A second wrong inference that opponents of the work in Jamaica have often brought against us as a charge is that the missionaries are the advocates of the negro inhabitant as against the rest. This charge also is entirely false. It is true that Knibb, for example, was the black men's friend when being enslaved and oppressed they needed a friend. He was in the same way the open and strenuous opponent of the white community in the island simply because the bulk of that community were the oppressors of the black. But as Christian missionaries neither the Baptist pioneers nor those who have followed them ever considered themselves commissioned to any one race or section of the mixed inhabitants of the West Indies. The Gospel they proclaimed was glad tidings for every creature, even as the Saviour who sent it died as a propitiation for the sins, not of any one favoured race, but of the whole world. While the bulk of the congregations of to-day are, and are likely to be, of negro descent, partly because of the close historical ties that bind so many of that race to our Mission stations, partly also just because the bulk of the inhabitants of Jamaica are of that race, membership in the Church is open to all who have repented toward God and put their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. And while our brethren are free from all un-Christly craving for the adhesion of what are called in the language of the world the "upper classes," our Sunday congregations, especially in the towns, show the pleasant sight of men and women of different nationalities and upbringing worshipping together—"one in Christ Jesus."

Could the personal letters of individual missionaries, which the writer has been studying of late, be reproduced in full in these pages, few incidents would be found more touching, and at times more inspiring, than the ministrations of our

missionaries even in slavery days to the white man or woman in the hour of sorrow or under distress of soul. Jew or Gentile, bond or free, our brethren have felt themselves, like Paul of old, debtors to them all. Spiritually, moreover, it may safely be said that the white community in Jamaica benefited by the abolition of slavery as much as the black; for to both alike that abominable system was the chief barrier to a saving acceptance of the Gospel, as it was also to that mutual understanding, co-operation, and goodwill which have ever since been steadily replacing, under the blessing of God, the old-time class-hatred and class-separation.

And if as a Christian Mission we believe heart and soul in the essential oneness of man, and that the Creator of us all is no respecter of persons, as a Baptist Mission we earnestly desire to recognize the spiritual oneness of all true disciples of the Christ. We rejoice greatly over every occasion when this has shown itself in united action for the extension of the Kingdom of Heaven, and we long for the time when there shall be a greater manifestation of it among the really Christian denominations in Jamaica than has yet been the case; when in building new sanctuaries we shall recognize each other's existence and refrain from overlapping as do the missionary forces of to-day in such fields as China, Ceylon, and Samoa; when we shall respect each other's Church discipline upon matters upon which all Christians are agreed; when we shall show a united front against public wrong whoever may be its advocate; when, without any surrender of denominational principle, we shall love one another as our Lord and Master has loved us, and so in our measure fulfil His gracious desire for all His true followers: "That they may be one . . . that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me."

LIST OF MISSIONARIES AND PASTORS DURING THE CENTURIES*

| FROM ABROAD. | | | | YEAR | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|------|-----------------------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | YEAR | | | | YEAR |
| John Rowe ... | ... | ... | 1813 | John Shoveller ... | ... | ... | 1831 |
| Lee Compere ... | ... | ... | 1815 | Josiah Barlow ... | ... | ... | 1831 |
| James Coultart ... | ... | ... | 1817 | Walter Dendy ... | ... | ... | 1832 |
| Thomas Godden ... | ... | ... | 1818 | John Kingdon ... | ... | ... | 1832 |
| Christopher Kitching ... | ... | ... | 1818 | B. B. Dexter ... | ... | ... | 1834 |
| Thomas Knibb ... | ... | ... | 1822 | John Hutchins ... | ... | ... | 1834 |
| Joshua Tinson ... | ... | ... | 1822 | John Clark ... | ... | ... | 1836 |
| Henry Tripp ... | ... | ... | 1822 | Samuel Oughton ... | ... | ... | 1836 |
| Thomas Burchell ... | ... | ... | 1823 | James Reid ... | ... | ... | 1837 |
| Ebenezer Phillips ... | ... | ... | 1823 | David Day ... | ... | ... | 1838 |
| J. Fleming ... | ... | ... | 1823 | T. B. Picton ... | ... | ... | 1838 |
| J. M. Phillpps ... | ... | ... | 1823 | H. J. Dutton ... | ... | ... | 1839 |
| William Knibb ... | ... | ... | 1824 | George Webb ... | ... | ... | 1839 |
| Edward Baylis ... | ... | ... | 1826 | E. J. Francis ... | ... | ... | 1839 |
| James Flood ... | ... | ... | 1826 | George Rouse ... | ... | ... | 1839 |
| T. Hudson† ... | ... | ... | 1826 | Jabez Tunley ... | ... | ... | 1839 |
| James Mann ... | ... | ... | 1826 | Charles Armstrong ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| J. Allsop† ... | ... | ... | 1827 | Henry Bloomfield ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| S. Bromley† ... | ... | ... | 1827 | P. H. Cornford ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| Joseph Burton ... | ... | ... | 1828 | J. Dallewell ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| H. C. Taylor ... | ... | ... | 1829 | J. E. Henderson ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| John Clarke ... | ... | ... | 1829 | William Hume ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| W. W. Cantlow ... | ... | ... | 1830 | John May ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| Francis Gardner ... | ... | ... | 1830 | Benjamin Millard ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| Samuel Nicholls ... | ... | ... | 1830 | Edward Woolley ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| T. F. Abbott ... | ... | ... | 1831 | John Williams ... | ... | ... | 1840 |
| John Griffiths ... | ... | ... | 1831 | Thomas Dowson ... | ... | ... | 1841 |
| | | | | Edward Hewett ... | ... | ... | 1841 |

* This list is correct as far as can be ascertained at present; but a few names have been omitted of persons who, for grave misconduct, became disconnected with the Mission.

† Connected with the General Baptist Missionary Society.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES AND PASTORS 165

| | YEAR | | YEAR |
|------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|
| Angus Duckett ... | 1855 | R. H. Hobson ... | 1886 |
| J. J. Steele ... | 1856 | W. P. Sibley* ... | 1887 |
| George Moodie ... | 1856 | W. H. Ritty ... | 1887 |
| Patrick O'Meally ... | 1857 | R. E. Bennett ... | 1888 |
| D. G. Campbell ... | 1857 | C. S. Brown ... | 1888 |
| Samuel Holt ... | 1860 | S. I. Marson ... | 1888 |
| James Maxwell ... | 1861 | E. H. Cunning ... | 1889 |
| J. J. Porter ... | ... | W. D. Brown ... | 1890 |
| W. M. Webb ... | 1862 | J. T. Dillon ... | 1892 |
| James Barrett ... | 1862 | T. G. Somers ... | 1893 |
| J. B. Service ... | 1863 | T. E. Marston ... | 1893 |
| Amos Silverthorn ... | ... | W. M. Christie ... | 1894 |
| William McIntosh ... | ... | A. G. Eccleston ... | 1894 |
| James Elliott ... | 1869 | E. J. Tonzalin ... | 1894 |
| W. N. Brown ... | 1869 | W. J. Mornan ... | 1894 |
| S. C. Morris ... | 1870 | John McCaulay ... | 1895 |
| A. P. Watson ... | 1871 | W. J. Thompson ... | 1895 |
| James Ashley ... | 1872 | H. L. Webster ... | 1895 |
| D. B. Campbell ... | 1872 | E. V. Donaldson ... | 1895 |
| W. A. Gilling ... | 1873 | T. U. Brown ... | 1896 |
| Charles Tharpe ... | 1875 | J. S. Linton ... | 1896 |
| T. C. Hutchins* ... | 1874 | C. M. Bennett ... | 1897 |
| S. E. Porter ... | 1875 | M. A. U. Shaw ... | 1897 |
| W. A. Tucker, sen. ... | 1876 | W. D. Vaughan ... | 1900 |
| G. E. Henderson* ... | 1876 | E. A. Bell ... | 1900 |
| E. J. Hewett* ... | 1877 | J. A. Jones ... | 1901 |
| Andrew Brown ... | 1877 | R. G. Chambers ... | 1902 |
| N. A. James ... | 1878 | C. C. Livingston ... | 1902 |
| W. D. Henderson* ... | 1878 | F. W. Coore ... | 1903 |
| P. F. Schoburgh ... | 1880 | W. A. Tucker, jun.* ... | 1904 |
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